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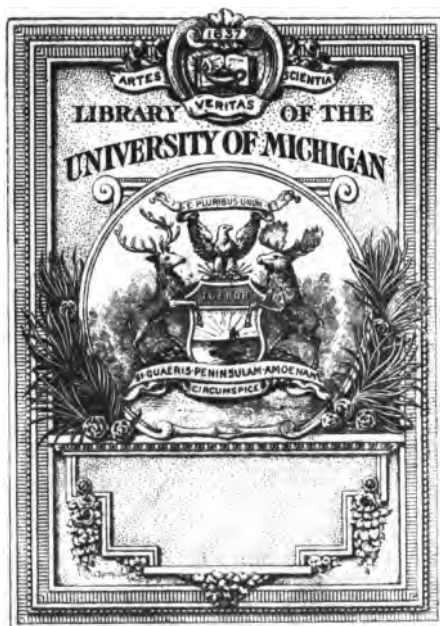
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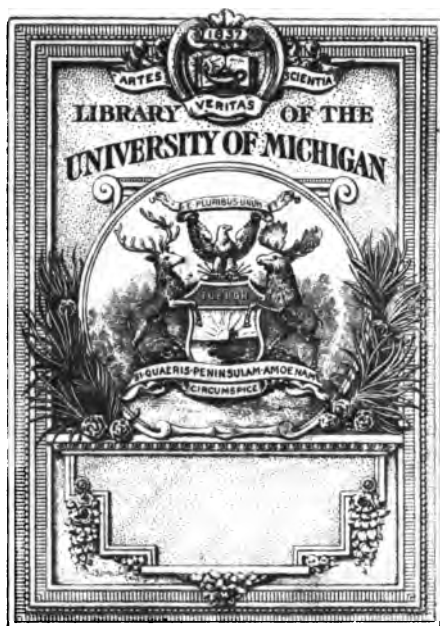
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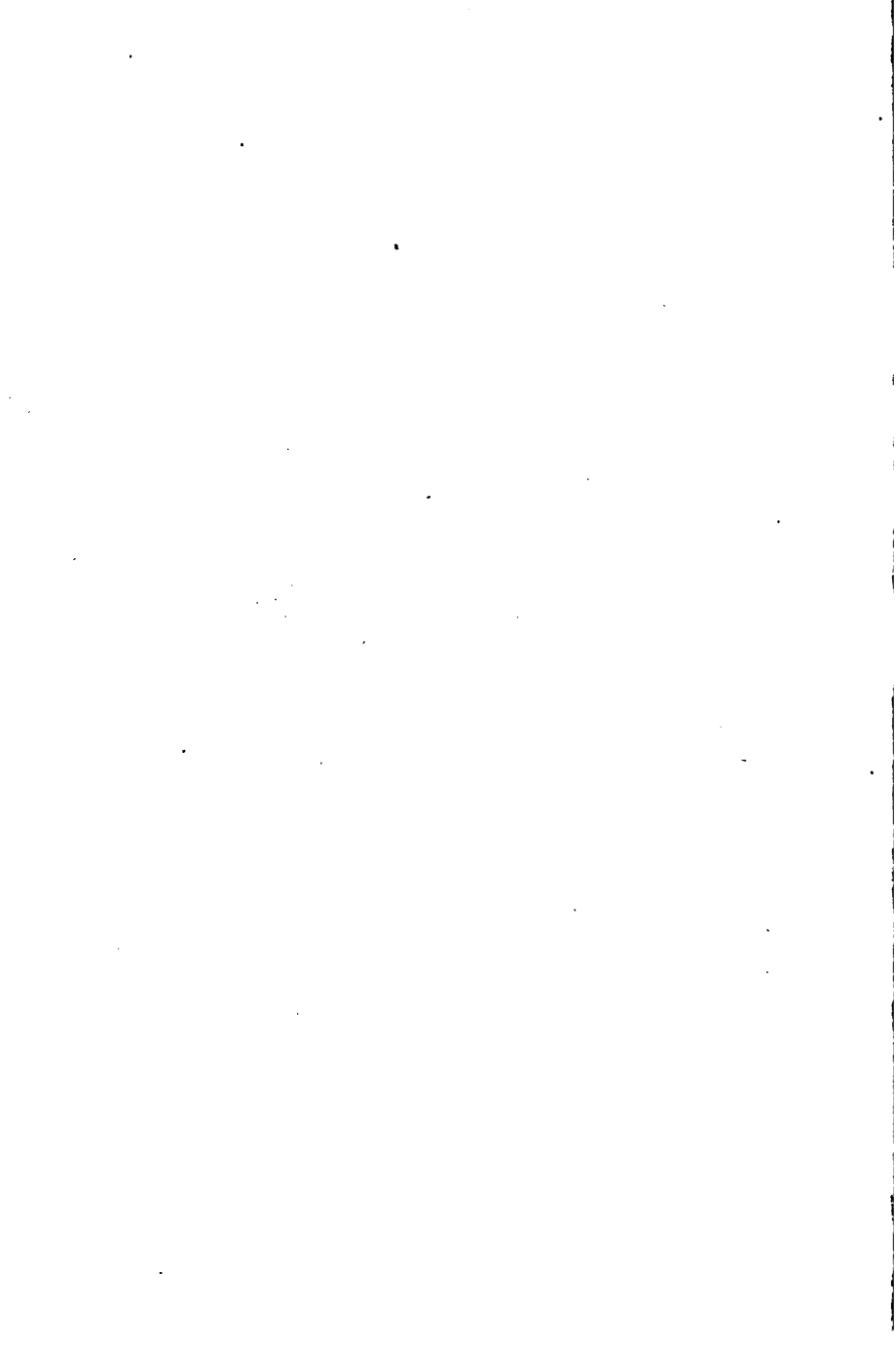
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BY

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LATE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND

T. F. TOUT, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY
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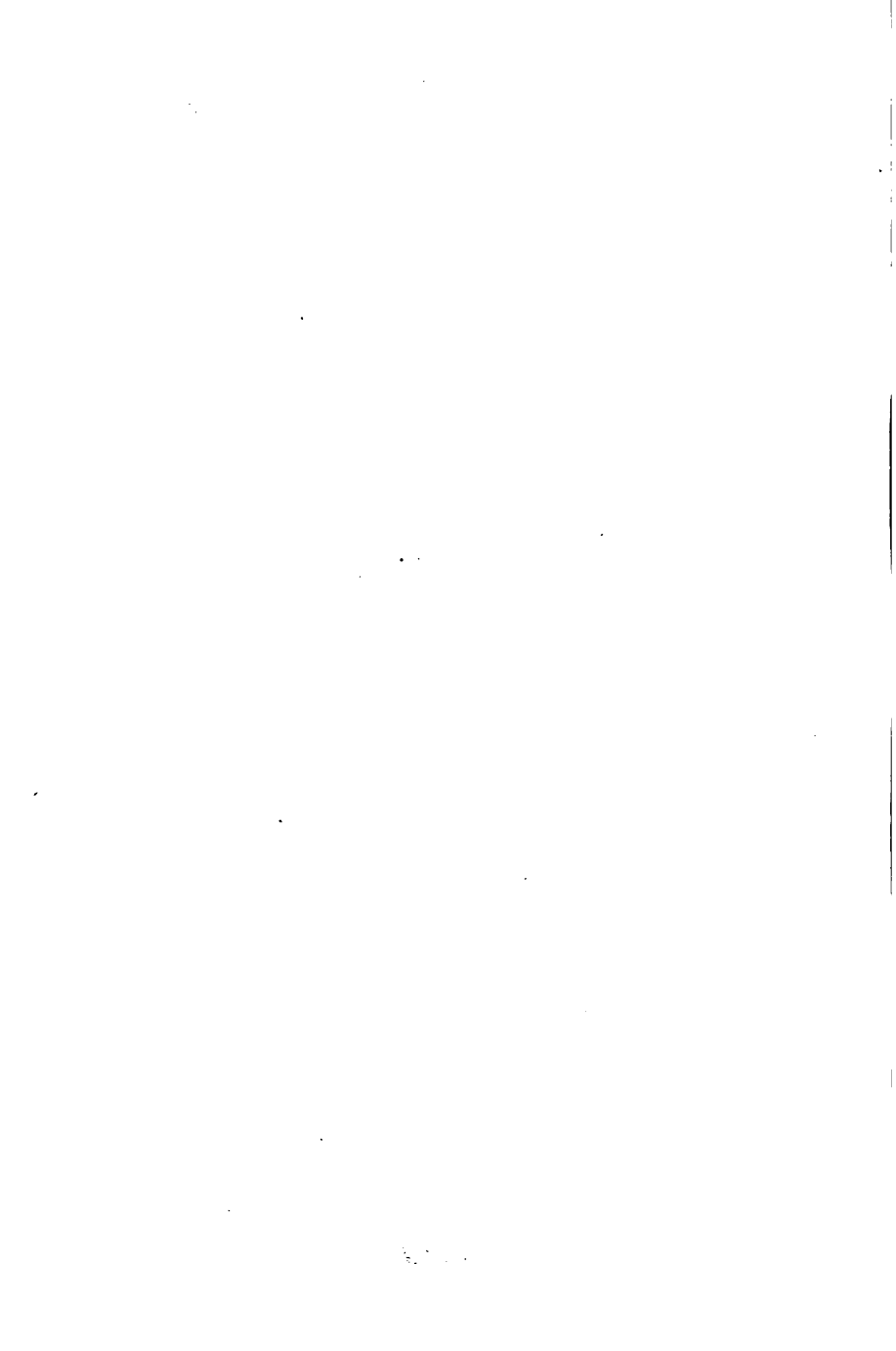
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1908

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PREFACE

THE present work aims at completing the *History of England for the Middle Forms of Schools*, of which the First Part, by Professor F. York Powell, was published in 1885.

The writer has striven to base his book on the general plan followed by Mr. York Powell, to whose constant and ungrudging counsel and aid he desires to express the warmest obligations. He has tried to make it a practical class-book, which should be readable as well as useful for reference and study, and which should suit the teacher as well as the pupil. He has sought by constant reference to and citation of contemporary authorities to help the student to realise how history is made, though he has found it impossible to do this so fully in modern times as has been done in the former part dealing with the Middle Ages. His wish has been to base his arrangement on the lines suggested by the facts themselves, and to give a careful and unbiassed statement of the main events of importance, their causes and results. In addition to the political and military history of the nation, its religious, moral, intellectual, and industrial life have been carefully if briefly treated, nor have even the

manners and amusements of the people been wholly ignored. The writer feels keenly the inadequacy and meagreness of some parts of the descriptive chapters, and in particular the small space he has been able to assign to the history of literature and art. But he hopes that even a few sentences may not be without their value in assisting the young student to realise the national development as a many-sided whole. For similar reasons he has endeavoured to make the book a history not merely of England, or England and Wales, in the narrower sense, but of the whole British Empire, and has given as much space as he could command to the history of Scotland and Ireland, our old and new Colonial Empires, and the British domination in India.

The author wishes to thank many friends for advice, help, and correction, and particularly the Rev. A. B. Beaven of Preston, who has kindly read a great portion of the work in proof, and has made many useful suggestions.

LAMPETER, *Feb.* 1890.

* IN preparing for new editions, the later chapters have been brought up to the death of Queen Victoria, the text has been thrice carefully gone through, and all the inaccuracies that the writer has been able to find corrected.

MANCHESTER, *Jan.* 1902.

CONTENTS

BOOK VIII.—The Whig Aristocracy.

(1689-1760.)

CHAP.	PAGE
INTRODUCTION,	721
I. William and Mary, 1689-1694; William III., 1689-1702,	722
II. Anne, 1702-1714,	737
III. George I. of Brunswick, 1714-1727,	754
IV. George II. and Walpole, 1727-1748,	767
V. George II., Wesley, and Pitt, 1739-1760,	779

BOOK IX.—George III. and the Restoration of the Royal Power.

(1760-1820.)

INTRODUCTION,	792
I. George III.'s First Struggles for Power, 1760-1782,	793
II. George III.—The American Revolution, and the Younger Pitt, 1765-1789,	802
III. Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century—The Industrial Revolution,	813
IV. George III.—The War against the French Revolution, 1789-1802,	833
V. Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,	840
VI. George III.—The Struggle against Napoleon, 1803-1815; The Regency, 1810-1820,	851

BOOK X.—The Rise of the People.

(1820-1901.)

INTRODUCTION,	871
I. George IV., 1820-1830,	873
II. William IV., 1830-1837,	885

CHAP.	PAGE
III. Victoria—Melbourne and Peel, 1837-1846, . . .	894
IV. Victoria—Russell and Palmerston, 1846-1865, . . .	905
V. Victoria—Gladstone and Disraeli, 1865-1886, . . .	925
VI. Victoria—Home Rule and the Empire, 1886-1901, . . .	945
VII. The United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century, . . .	959

BOOK XI.—India and the Colonies.

(1760-1901.)

INTRODUCTION,	994
I. British India, 1760-1901,	995
II. The New Colonial Empire, 1763-1901,	1023
GLOSSARY,	1051
INDEX,	1055

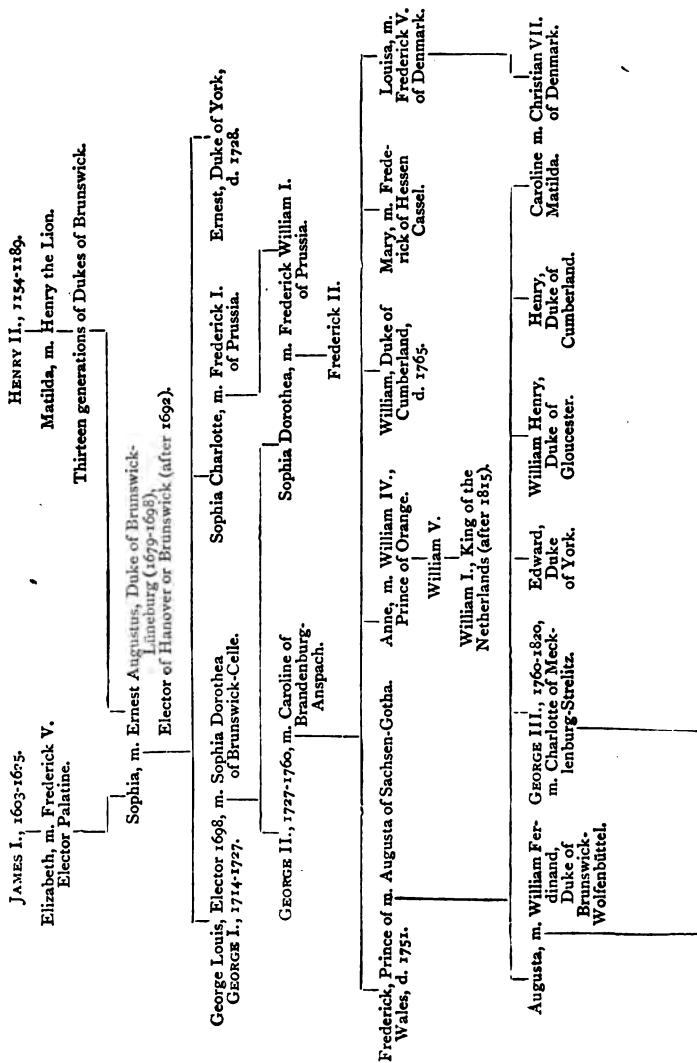
MAPS AND PLANS

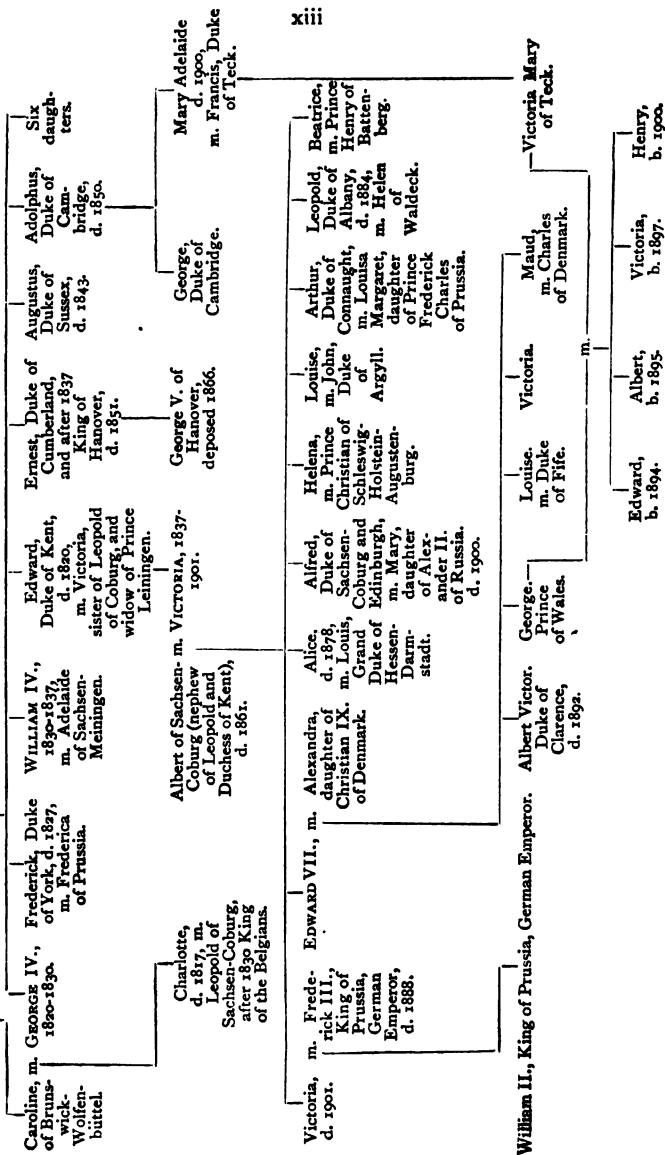
	PAGE
Battle of Blenheim,	742
Europe in 1713,	753
Scotland and North of England, to illustrate the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745,	761
New England and New France, 1755-1783,	788
The Thirteen Colonies in 1765,	801
Great Britain, to illustrate the Industrial Revolution,	812
Battle of Trafalgar,	855
Europe at the height of Napoleon's Power, 1810,	860
Battle of Waterloo,	867
Europe after the Congress of Vienna, 1815,	870
The Neighbourhood of Sebastopol, 1854-1855,	915
India in 1901, and illustrating the growth of the British Territory and Supremacy,	1022
South Africa, 1899,	1042

TABLES

	PAGE
House of Brunswick-Hanover, . . . . .	. xii
House of Bourbon (a) French, . . . . .	. xiv
„ (b) Spanish and Neapolitan, . . . . .	. xv
House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, . . . . .	. xvi
House of Brandenburg, . . . . .	. xvii
House of Russia, . . . . .	. xviii
The Buonaparte Family, . . . . .	. xix
The Russell Family, . . . . .	. xix
The Churchill, Spencer, Godolphin, and Pelham Families, . . . . .	. xx
The Bentinck and Canning Families, . . . . .	. xxi
The Grenville and Pitt Families, . . . . .	. xxi
The Fox Family, . . . . .	. xxii
The Napier Family, . . . . .	. xxii
List of Ministries, . . . . .	. xxiii
The Spanish Succession in 1700, . . . . .	. 733

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK-HANOVER.





HOUSE OF BOURBON.

(a) FRENCH.

Louis XIII., 1610-1643.
m. Anne of Spain.

Louis XIV., 1643-1715,
m. Maria Theresa
of Spain.

Philip, Duke of Orleans,
d. 1701.

Louis the Dauphin,
d. 1711.

Frances, m. Philip, Duke of Orleans, the
Regent, d. 1723.

Louis, Duke of
Burgundy,
d. 1712.

Philip,
Duke of Anjou,
Philip V. of
Spain.

Louis, Duke of Orleans,
d. 1753.

Louis XV.,
1715-1774,
m. Maria Leczanska.

Louis Philippe, Duke
of Orleans, d. 1785.

Louis the Dauphin,
d. 1765.

Louis Philippe, Duke
of Orleans (Egalité),
d. 1793.

Louis Philippe, Duke
of Orleans, King of
the French, 1830-1848.

Louis XVI.,
1774-1792,
m. Marie Antoinette
of Austria.

Charles, Count
of Artois,
CHARLES X.
1824-1830.

Ferdinand

Louis,
m. Leopold I.
of Belgium.

Francis,
Prince of
Joinville.

Antony,
Duke of
Montpensier,
m. Louise,
daughter of
Ferdinand VII.
of Spain.

Louis, called
Louis XVII.
d. 1795.

Charles, Duke
of Berri.
Henry, Count
of Chambord,
d. 1883.

Louis Philippe,
Count of Paris
(1838-1894),
m. h. s. cousin
Isabella.

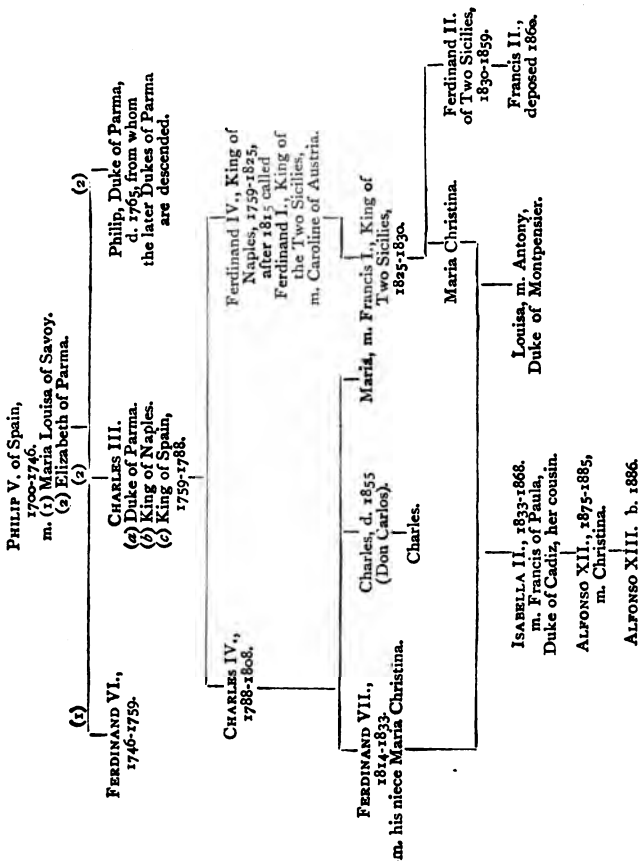
Leopold II.

Henry, Duke
of Aumale.

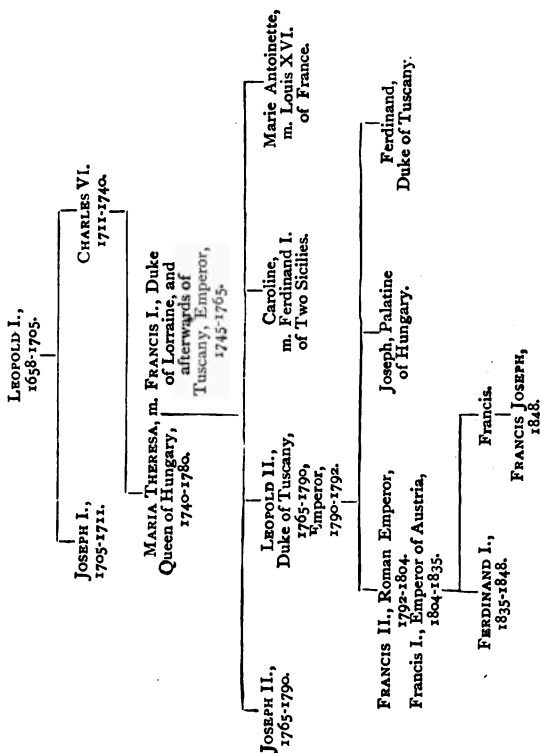
Isabella.

Philip, Duke
of Orleans.

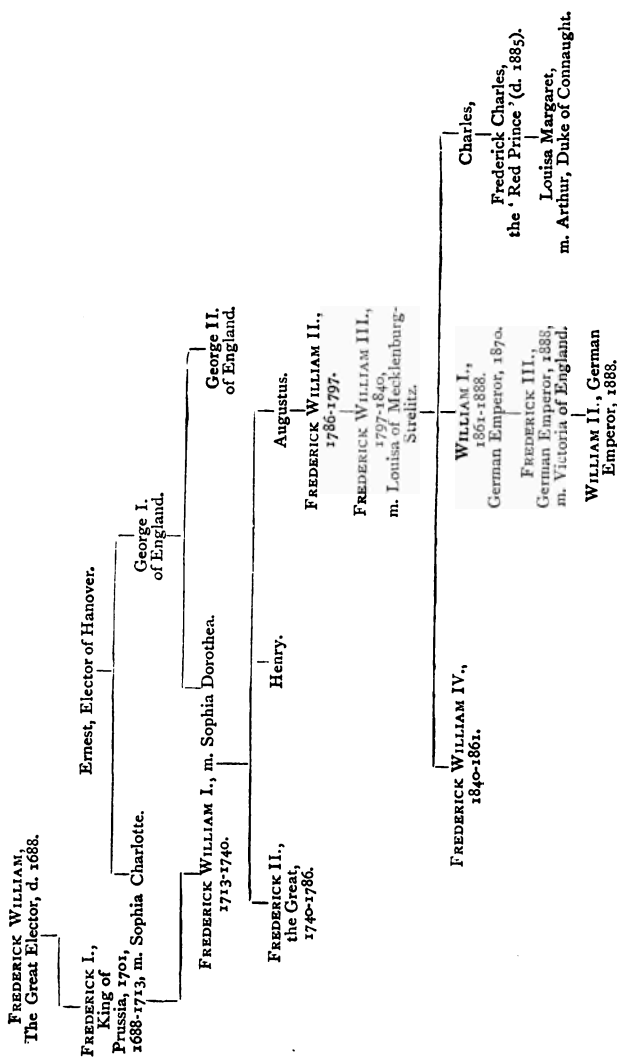
(d) SPANISH AND NEAPOLITAN.



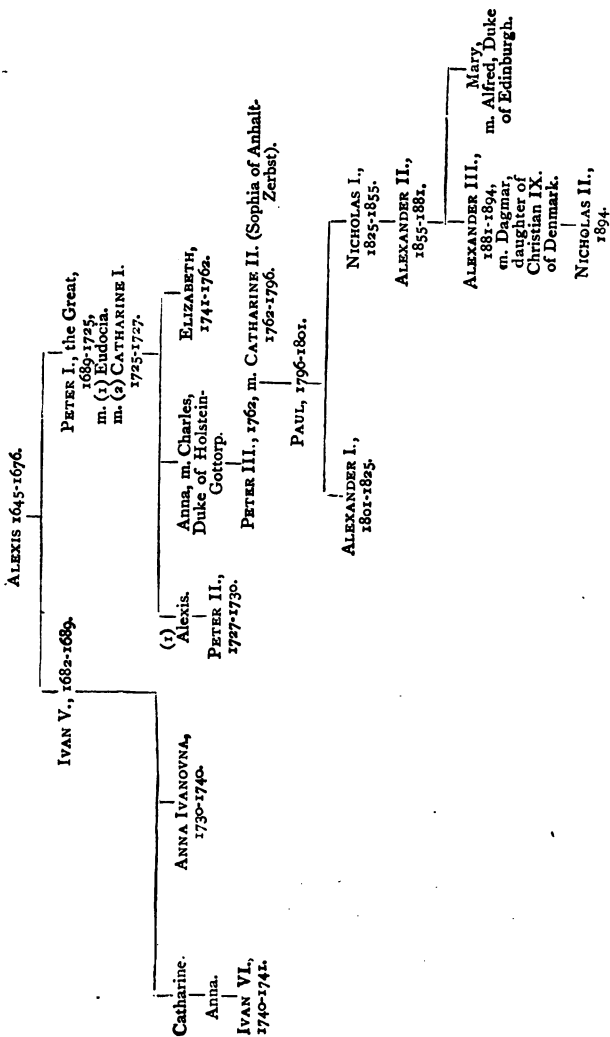
HOUSE OF HAPSBURG-LORRAINE.



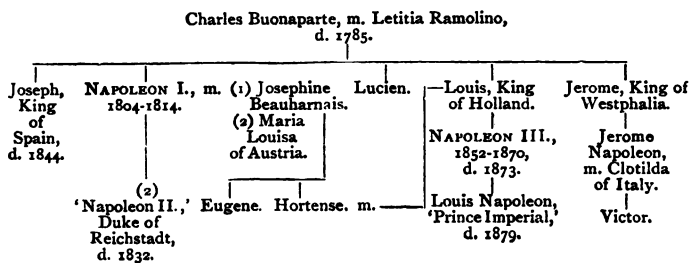
HOUSE OF BRANDENBURG.



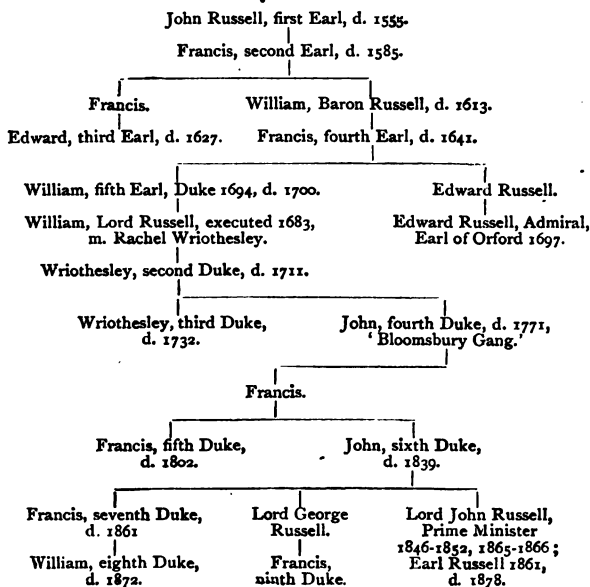
HOUSE OF RUSSIA.



THE BUONAPARTE FAMILY.

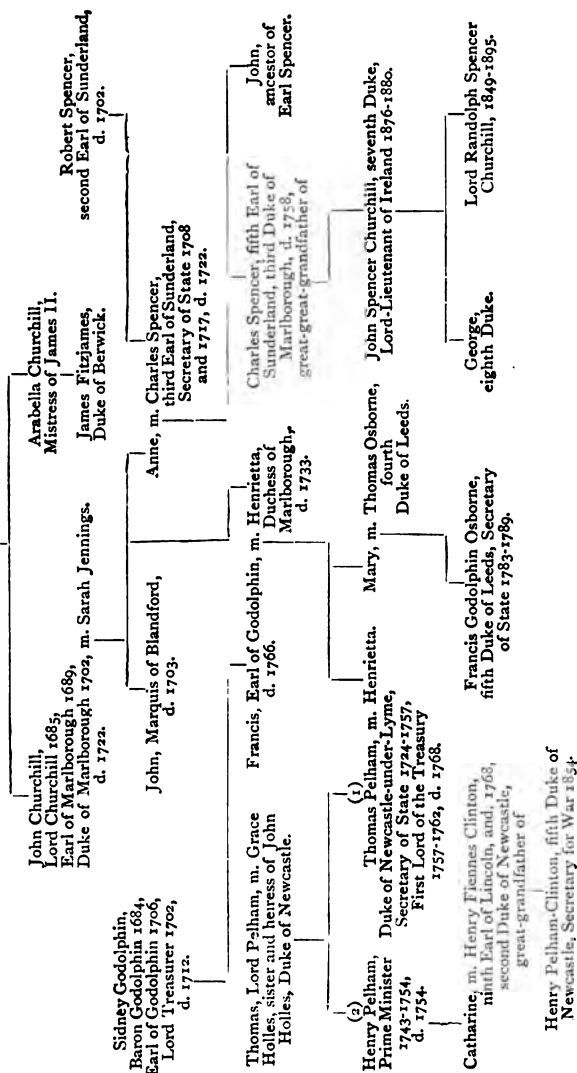


THE RUSSELL FAMILY.

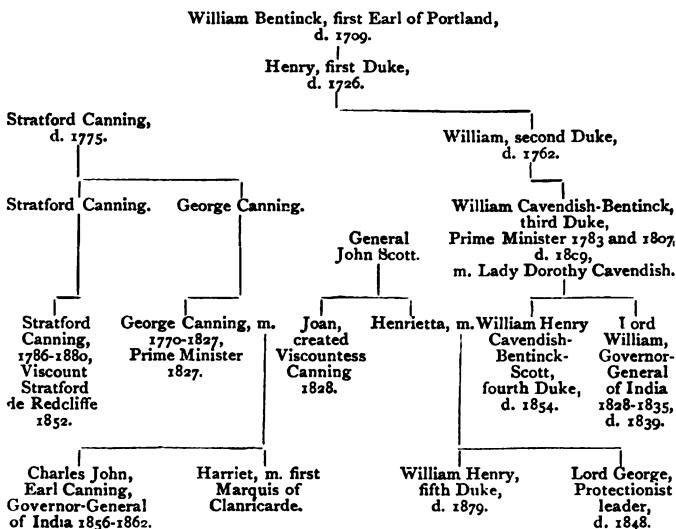


THE CHURCHILL, SPENCER, GODOLPHIN, AND PELHAM FAMILIES.

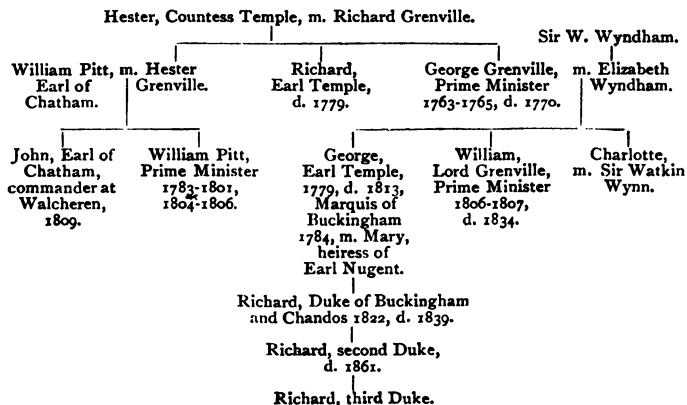
Sir Winston Churchill,
d. 1688.



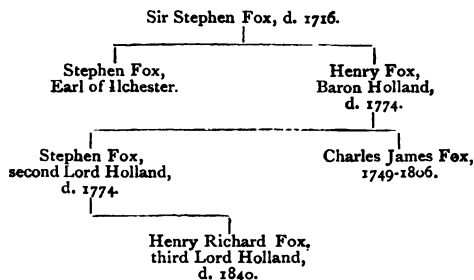
THE BENTINCK AND CANNING FAMILIES.



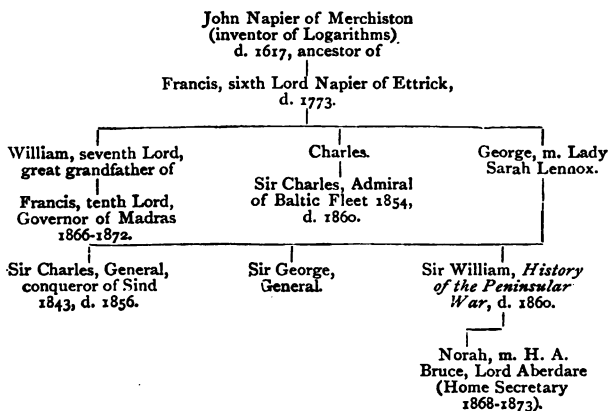
THE GRENVILLE AND PITT FAMILIES.



THE FOX FAMILY.



THE NAPIER FAMILY.



LIST OF MINISTRIES.

- 1689-1696. Mixed Ministry of Whigs and Tories.
1696-1701. First Whig Ministry.
1701-1708. Mixed Ministries of varying character.
1708-1710. Whig Ministry.
1710-1714. Oxford and Bolingbroke Ministry (Tory).
1714-1717. Townshend Ministry (Whig).
1717-1720. Stanhope Ministry (Whig).
1720-1742. Walpole Ministry (Whig).
1742-1744. Carteret Ministry (Whig).
1744-1754. Pelham's or the Broad Bottom Ministry (Whig).
1754-1756. Newcastle Ministry (Whig).
1756-1757. Devonshire Ministry (Whig).
1757-1761. Pitt-Newcastle Ministry (Whig).
1761-1763. Bute Ministry (Whigs and Tories).
1763-1765. Grenville Ministry (mainly Whig).
1765-1766. First Rockingham Ministry (the Whig houses).
1766-1768. Chatham Ministry (no definite party colour).
1768-1770. Grafton Ministry (no definite party colour).
1770-1782. North Ministry (Tory).
1782. Second Rockingham Ministry (Whig).
1782-1783. Shelburne Ministry (King's Friends and Chathamites).
1783. Coalition Ministry of North and Fox (Whigs and Tories).
1783-1801. First Pitt Ministry (Chathamites and King's Friends, and gradually becoming Tory).
1801-1804. Addington Ministry (Tory).
1804-1806. Pitt's Second Ministry (Tory).
1806-1807. Ministry of All the Talents (Whigs with some Tories).
1807-1809. Portland Ministry (Tory).
1809-1812. Perceval Ministry (Tory).
1812-1827. Liverpool Ministry (Tory, becoming wider after 1822).
1827. Canning Ministry (Liberal Tory).
1827. Goderich Ministry (Liberal Tory).
1828-1830. Wellington-Peel Ministry (Tory).

- 1830-1834. Grey Ministry (Whig).
1834. First Melbourne Ministry (Whig).
1834-1835. First Peel Ministry (Conservative).
1835-1841. Melbourne Ministry (Whig).
1841-1846. Second Peel Ministry (Conservative).
1846-1852. Lord J. Russell's Ministry (Whig).
1852. First Derby-Disraeli Ministry (Protectionist and Conservative).
1852-1855. Aberdeen Coalition Ministry (Peelites and Whigs).
1855-1858. First Palmerston Ministry (Whig).
1858-1859. Second Derby-Disraeli Ministry (Conservative).
1859-1865. Second Palmerston Ministry (Whigs and Peelites, Liberals).
1865-1866. Earl Russell's Ministry (Liberal).
1866-1868. Third Derby-Disraeli Ministry (Conservative).
1868-1874. First Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1874-1880. Disraeli Ministry (Conservative).
1880-1885. Second Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1885-1886. Salisbury Ministry (Conservative).
1886. Third Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1886-1892. Salisbury Unionist Ministry (Conservative and Liberal Unionist).
1892-1894. Fourth Gladstone Ministry (Liberal).
1894-1895. Rosebery Ministry (Liberal).
1895-1901. Salisbury Ministry (Unionist).

BOOK VIII.

1689-1760.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Revolution completed the work that the Long Parliament had already more than half done, but which in some ways the Restoration bade fair to undo.

It put an end to the doctrines of Divine Right and Passive Obedience which had raised the monarchy into a sort of sacred position far above human law. It made the king the first magistrate of a free state, with definite work to do. If he neglected it he could be sent about his business. It reduced his legal powers wherever they seemed dangerous.

It secured the victory of Parliament over the Crown. The triumph of Parliament meant, in the long run, the triumph of the Commons, who now gradually got into their hands most of the powers that the Constitution still left to the king. The king's ministers soon became in reality the ministers of the Commons, who thus won the control of the executive power. But the Commons were a close body, mostly consisting of landlords and rich gentlemen. Their triumph made England an aristocracy instead of a monarchy. Side by side with the legal constitution grew a new customary constitution that superseded it. Cabinet government, aristocratic influence, constitutional monarchy were the chief notes of the new period. But the changes were less in form than in spirit.

The Revolution brought about equal changes in the Church. It destroyed the strong priestly power which for a century had been the one great support of monarchy. But Puritanism as well as Anglicanism gave way before the new spirit of Rationalism. The Dissenters got Toleration.

Yet the constitution of the Church was not altered, despite the new spirit that came over it.

The Revolution brought some sort of civil liberty to Scotland with that form of church government which the Scots liked best. It finally led to the union of Scotland with England. To Ireland it simply renewed in a more grievous form the Protestant and English ascendancy.

The Revolution restored England to its right place as a great power in Europe. The first result was the fall of the French supremacy over Europe.

The Revolution made England the greatest commercial and maritime state in Europe. When waging war to uphold her political interests and the balance of power, England now keeps a keen eye on winning advantages for her trade. Her navy now becomes her chief care. Her colonies and trading stations spread her name and tongue over every continent.

But tendencies work slowly, and in England perhaps more slowly than anywhere. It took two generations for all these great changes to be carried out, and even then plenty of traces remained of the old state of things.

The new system makes a fair start under William III. Under Anne we seem in some ways to be back in Charles II.'s time. The reigns of the two Georges mark the completion of the change.

CHAPTER I.

William and Mary (1689-1694). William III.
(1689-1702).

I. William's first business was to choose his ministers. Called in by a body of Whig and Tory gentlemen, he would not be the king of one party, and took care that The New Ministry, 1689. both should be represented in his cabinet. The chief Tory ministers were Danby, now President of the Council and Marquis of Carmarthen, and Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State. Nottingham was a very strong churchman. In appearance he was "a very tall, thin, swarthy-complexioned man like a Spaniard or Jew," "in his habit and manners very formal," so that he was called Don Diego Dismallo by the Whig wits. Sidney, Lord Godolphin, who had been with James to the

last, soon became First Lord of the Treasury. He was "of low stature, thin, with a very black and stern countenance," but "modest in his behaviour, speaks not much, but is affable in his manner when he is pleased." His quiet business-like habits, great knowledge of figures, and unobtrusive usefulness soon made him as necessary to William as to James. Halifax, as Privy Seal, represented the Trimmers. The most prominent Whig was the young Earl of Shrewsbury, who combined great ability with "a handsome person (though with but one eye) and noble and obliging manners." But the chief household posts were given to William's old friends from Holland, such as the trusty William Bentinck, soon Earl of Portland, with his "very lofty mien, polite and graceful yet dignified manners," that won more recognition abroad than with the churlish English, and the more brilliant Arnold Joost van Keppel, after 1696 Earl of Albemarle, a "cheerful young man, beautiful in his person." Lord Churchill was now made Earl of Marlborough. William himself had no notion of reigning without governing; his long and wide experience of foreign affairs led him to act as his own foreign minister: all the strings even of home policy remained in his hands, though here he knew less when and how to act.

2. The Convention, as in 1660, was turned into a Parliament. The king was granted the *hereditary revenue for life* to support his household, but parliamentary grants were henceforth made from year to year, so that the king was now forced to have a session of Parliament every year. The same object was also got by passing for a short period a *Mutiny Act*, which allowed the king to keep discipline in the army by military law. The abolition of the harsh and burdensome *Hearth Tax* relieved the poor. The Dissenters were rewarded by the *Toleration Act*, which gave Protestants who believed in the Trinity the right to worship in their own chapels. But the harsh Clarendon Code, though relaxed, was not repealed. No one was willing to relieve the papists, and a *Comprehension Bill* to bring back moderate Dissenters to the Church was thrown out through the opposition of the clergy and the languid interest of the Dissenters themselves. A new Oath of Allegiance was forced on all office-holders in Church and State. Many of the clergy scrupled to take it, and were turned out of their livings. Thus arose the schism of the *Non-jurors*, which was saved from being formidable by very few laymen following the 300 clergy who refused

The Convention
Parliament and
its work, 1689.

to swear allegiance to William and Mary. Among the Non-jurors were Archbishop Sancroft and the holy Bishop Ken. William filled up their places from the party now beginning to be called *Low Church*, or *Latitudinarian*. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, a liberal and fair-minded man and a polished though cold preacher, became Archbishop of Canterbury. The active, fussy, good-natured Whig partisan, Gilbert Burnet, a famous writer and preacher, was made Bishop of Salisbury. The *High Church* clergy, who were the great majority, and who followed more closely on the footsteps of Laud, strongly disliked William's Church policy. But the mass of them took the oaths, though without giving up their old theories of divine right and passive obedience. They still had a strong hold over the people.

The *Declaration of Right* was now turned into the *Bill of Rights*, the last of the great charters of English liberty.

1. It enacted that all the liberties declared in the Declaration were the ancient and indubitable rights of the English people. 2. It declared illegal (a) the suspending power; and (b) the dispensing power "as it hath been assumed and exercised of late"; (c) James's Court of Commissioners in ecclesiastical causes; (d) levying money for a longer time than granted by Parliament; (e) keeping a standing army without parliamentary consent. 3. It declared that subjects have the right to petition the king, and that Parliaments should be freely elected, frequently held, and have free speech. 4. It resolved that "for the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom" all persons "who profess the Popish religion or marry a papist shall be incapable to inherit or possess the crown."

The Convention Parliament was dissolved in January 1690, after wild debates and much excitement. Many Tories were now sorry for the Revolution, and wished James back, while the extreme Whigs attacked William almost as fiercely as his uncle. The "foreign king" had already lost his popularity. Rival factions, war in Scotland, Ireland, and the Continent made a bad beginning for his reign.

3. In Scotland the fall of the "tyrant" James was hailed with general delight. Popular disturbances broke out everywhere. On Christmas Day 1688 the "curates" (as the Episcopalian ministers were called) were, in many cases, "rabbed," that is, driven out with violence and insult from their churches and manses. A *Convention of the Estates* was summoned as in England, and sat in Edinburgh, while the Duke of Gordon held the castle for King James, and a Cameronian rabble poured in from the fervid south-west. The Duke of Hamilton became President of the Convention, where Whig feeling rose so high that

**The Revolution
in Scotland,
1688-92.**

Graham of Claverhouse (now Viscount Dundee) withdrew with his party in disgust. It was resolved that James VII. had *forfeited* the Scottish Crown, and a *Claim of Right* was drawn up, which declared that "prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church over presbyters is a great and insupportable grievance, contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people, and ought to be abolished." On 11th May William and Mary accepted the Scottish throne, and, with uplifted right hands, took the coronation oath in the noble Banqueting-House at Whitehall. In 1690 the General Assembly of the Church (the first since 1653) again set up the Presbyterian system. The bishops and non-juring ministers formed a separate Church of their own, strongly *Jacobite* (friendly to King James), and bitterly persecuted. But even hotter against the new settlement than the Scottish Episcopalians were the extreme Covenanters, indignant that the Westminster Confession, and not the Covenant, was the standard adopted by the Assembly. They rejected the Erastian Church and the un-Covenanted king, and sought by secession to keep alive the true spirit of their teacher Cameron. William's adviser in Scottish Church affairs was the wise and cautious minister William Carstares, his chaplain, who had such influence over him that he was called "Viceroy of the kingdom and Cardinal Carstares." Lord Melville at first acted for William in State affairs, but had much trouble with the factious *Club* of Whig malcontents (who aimed at an aristocratic republic) led by Hume of Polwarth and Fletcher of Salton. But the government soon passed to the stronger hands of James Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session (the head of the Scotch judges), and Viscount Stair, and his son John, the Master of Stair, now Secretary for Scotland.

Celtic Scotland paid little heed to the acts of the Convention. But when Dundee left Edinburgh, he betook himself to the Highlands, and easily persuaded the Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, and The Highland Revolt, 1689. Stewarts of Appin (the same clans that from the same motives had once followed Montrose), that the turning out of King James would mean bringing back to power their hated enemies the greedy and cunning Campbells, whose chief, Argyll (son of the earl executed in 1685) now again ruled in the west. A large Highland army soon gathered round him. At first it did little. But a family quarrel among the Murrays of Atholl brought both Dundee with the clansmen, and General Mackay with King William's

regular troops, into the Perthshire Highlands. Dundee secured Blair Atholl; but Mackay's forces were already threading the *Pass of Killiecrankie* (the chief road from Perth into the Highlands), a few miles to the south-east. On 27th July 1689 a battle was fought near the summit of the pass. The Lowlanders gave way at the fierce Highland rush, but Dundee was slain in the moment of victory. Mackay showed great coolness in rallying his scattered soldiers. The stern piety of the newly raised Cameronian regiment beat off the clansmen from the walls of Dunkeld. The Highlanders went home, each man to his own house, and William was undisputed King of Scots.

Measures were taken to pacify the Highlanders. But the favour shown to the Whiggish Campbells still more disgusted their rivals the Macdonalds. When the order came that all were to swear, before the end of 1691, to live peaceably under King William, Mac Ian, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, made it a point of honour to hold out as long as he could, though a few days after the time fixed he came in and took the oath. But the Campbells had now their chance to pay off old scores, and the Master of Stair thought no harm in helping them, and was glad to frighten, by a stern example, the wild Highland savages. Through him William signed an order that, "for the vindication of public justice, it will be proper to extirpate that set of thieves," that is, the tribe of Glencoe. A gang of soldiers from Argyll's own regiment carried out this command by a brutal and treacherous massacre of all the clan they could lay their hands on (13th February 1692), after having been kindly entertained by them for a week. William was severely blamed for his order, but the worst guilt of the murders rests with John Dalrymple and the Campbells. Yet the harsh lesson kept the Highlands in peace for a generation.

4. Tyrconnel's government had brought Ireland back into Catholic hands, though, in his zeal to get rid of Protestantism, he had almost destroyed the English ascendancy, and was now proposing to repeal the Act of Settlement, and give back the land to the old Irish landlords. After the English Revolution the last check was withdrawn, and Tyrconnel began to aim openly at the restoration of Irish independence. In great alarm the Protestants rushed to arms. At Enniskillen and Londonderry the best and bravest of the Ulster Protestants gathered together to withstand their revolted servants.

The Revolution in Ireland, 1688-91.

James II. as an Englishman had no sympathy with Tyrconnel and the Irish ; but their common Catholicism still kept them together. He left France for Ireland, and on 12th March 1689 landed at Kinsale, bringing with him some French troops, and the Count of Avaux, as ambassador, whose great aim was to "unite all the good subjects of James in the country under his sceptre." But James soon saw that there were only two parties in Ireland, the national Irish party, which cared nothing for him personally, but supported him as a Catholic and as the best way of getting French help against the English, and the Protestant party, which hated him and his creed, and looked for salvation from William of Orange. This was soon seen when an Irish parliament met in Dublin, including hardly any but Catholics. It declared war against the English by repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and drew up a great *Act of Attainder* which condemned over 2000 people. To make up for his want of money, James issued a debased coinage of brass and copper, which was to pass as if it had been silver.

A deadly war of race and religion now burst out. The Protestant strongholds at Enniskillen and Londonderry held out bravely. The feeble walls of Derry were besieged by a great French and Catholic army, and a boom cut off all access from the sea and the English fleet. The Siege of Derry, 1689. Provisions ran short, but the starving garrison, under the leading of Walker, a clergyman (afterwards made Bishop of Derry for his gallantry), kept body and soul together on whatever garbage they could get, and refused to surrender. At last on 30th July a merchant ship sailed up Lough Foyle and broke the boom. The Catholic army at once raised the siege. Three days later the men of Enniskillen fought and won the *battle of Newtown Butler*.

General Schomberg, who as a young man had led the Portuguese to victory against Spain, and now in his old age had been turned out of France for his Protestantism, was at last sent with an English army to Ireland, and encamped near Dundalk. But a terrible sickness raged in his army, and he could do nothing. Next year (1690) William himself went to Ireland. Landing at Carrickfergus, he advanced rapidly towards Dublin. James resolved to hold the line of the river Boyne, which, dividing the counties of Louth and Meath, runs into the sea just below Drogheda. On 1st July the *battle of the Boyne* was fought. The Battle of the Boyne, 1690. French under Lauzun were taken away from the defence of the river to save the retreat to Dublin being

cut off by the threatened flank march on the pass of Duleek. After a fierce struggle the Protestant army forced the passage of the river, but Schomberg fell in the fight. James hurried away to Dublin, whence he soon fled to France. William now conquered nearly all Ireland, but the Irish at last stood gallantly at bay behind the weak mud walls of Limerick, which "looked as if they could be knocked down with roasted apples." The English sought to storm the town, but failed completely, and in September William, despairing to capture it, went back to England. A little later Marlborough led a fresh expedition to the south, which easily reduced Cork and Kinsale.

The flight of James left the Catholics in a state of wild anarchy; but in 1691 General Saint-Ruth came from France and sought to discipline their disorderly hordes. In June the Dutch General Ginkel captured Athlone, which commanded the passage of the Shannon. This enabled him to invade Connaught. On 12th July the *battle of Aghrim* was fought, in which Saint-Ruth was slain and his army defeated with terrible slaughter. Galway was now captured, and again the last Irish army stood at bay at Limerick under the gallant Sarsfield. But this time resistance was useless, and Ginkel offered easy terms to bring the war to an end. By the *Treaty of Limerick*, 1691. (October 1691) all the Irish soldiers who chose were shipped over to France, where many of them won great glory in the service of King Louis. Amnesty was promised to all who took the oath of allegiance, and the Catholics were guaranteed the same liberties that they had had during the reign of Charles II. But Ginkel went beyond his powers in making these concessions, and the Irish parliament meanly refused to be bound by them. The *Protestant Ascendancy* was now restored. A *penal code* of odious severity was gradually imposed on the wretched Catholics, who now atoned by a long century of degradation and oppression for their last attempt to shake off the English yoke, while the Irish Protestants paid for English help by the destruction of their trade and the increased dependence of their country upon England.

5. William III.'s primary object in coming over had been to get England to join in the great league which he had long been trying to form to defend Europe from Louis XIV.'s aggressions, become more and more barefaced in the years after the Treaty of Nijmegen. At the very time he landed at Torbay a

European war had broken out. Louis, by sending James to Ireland, practically began to fight against England himself. On 13th May 1689 England declared war against France, and joined with Holland, Brandenburg, Spain, and the Empire in the general attack upon the French King. Nothing shows better the strong position which Louis had won in Europe than that even with England against him he was more than able to hold his own in the eight years' struggle that now ensued. In 1690 Marshal Luxemburg won a great victory over the allies at *Fleurus*. More remarkable still was the victory of Admiral Tourville over the combined fleets of England and Holland (the two great naval powers) off *Beachy Head* (30th June). This shameful defeat was mostly due to the incompetence of the careless and self-indulgent Admiral, Lord Torrington. The defeat of James in Ireland prevented the French from getting any good from their triumph at the time. But James pressed Louis to invade England, and the treachery of some of William's most trusted supporters, such as Marlborough, seemed to show that invasion might bring about a Stewart restoration. All such schemes were finally ended by Admiral Edward Russell's (afterwards Lord Orford) great naval victory off *La Hogue* on 19th May 1692. Tourville's fleet was dispersed, and the fear of invasion was over. But the French still harried English commerce. In 1693 the great *Smyrna fleet*, with its rich cargoes of Eastern wares, was almost entirely destroyed by the French.

Year after year William went to the Low Countries in the summer, and led the armies of the Coalition to battle against the French. Year after year he was beaten, but he had a wonderful power of rallying his army under defeat, so that the French did not win much except glory. In 1692 he was beaten at *Steinkirk*; in 1693 at *Lunden* or *Neerwinden*; and in 1694 an expedition, led by the gallant Tolle-mache, failed completely in an attack on Brest. But in 1695 William won his last and greatest triumph as a soldier, the capture of the strong fortress of Namur, in the face of a French army. In 1697 Louis was glad to sign the *Peace of Ryswick*, by which he restored to England and Holland all conquests made since 1678, and recognised William as King of England. Louis was allowed to keep Strassburg and his annexations in Alsace, but he promised to restore Lorraine to its Duke. This was the first peace Louis had signed in which he had

not won important additions to his territories. England had now again taken her proper position in Europe.

6. During the years of the war William's position in England grew more and more difficult. Plot after plot was discovered to bring back King James, such as *William*. *Preston's Plot* (1690), in which the non-juring Bishop Turner was mixed up, and the *Assassination Plot* (1696), which led to the attainder and execution of the great north country Tory, Sir John Fenwick, and to the drawing up by Parliament of a *Bond of Association* to stand by King William and the Protestant succession. The Princess Anne, James II.'s younger daughter by Anne Hyde, and the heir to the throne (as William and Mary had no children), was a weak foolish woman, wholly in the hands of Marlborough and his wife, and was now on very bad terms with her brother and sister, and bidding hard for Tory support. The death of Mary in 1694 deprived the king of his last hope of popularity, as she was thoroughly English, *Death of Mary, 1694.* a good churchwoman, pleasant, bright, and generally beloved. William, now left alone, was positively hated as a silent Dutchman, selfish, cold-hearted, and with no manners, who cared nothing for England, but wasted her resources on a useless war, and by giving great estates to his foreign friends and favourites. The Tories cried out against the war, and denounced all war by land, saying that it did not matter to England who was supreme on the Continent, and that as long as we kept up our navy, we had better let foreign politics alone. Faction rose high in Parliament, and even in the Cabinet William's Whig and Tory ministers wrangled fiercely with each other.

7. The turncoat Sunderland, now again a Protestant and back from exile, had insinuated himself into William's favour, and shown him that a ministry drawn from both parties could not work, and that it was wiser to throw himself altogether into the hands of the Whigs, who alone really wanted to carry on the French war. In 1694 William was forced to see the truth of this advice. He adopted the Whig policy, and, as proofs of his conversion, gave the royal assent to the new *Triennial Act* he had previously vetoed, which declared that no parliament should last more than three years, and in 1695 dropped the *censorship of the press*, so that a swarm of political newspapers sprang up. The great Whig Earls of Bedford (father of William, Lord Russell) and Devonshire were now made dukes. Bit by bit the Tory ministers were forced

out of office. Almost the last to remain was Carmarthen, recently made Duke of Leeds ; but in 1695 he was proved to have been mixed up with the corruption of the Tory speaker, Sir John Trevor, whom the Whigs had turned out of office. Barely escaping a second impeachment, Leeds was now forced to give up public life, and Godolphin soon followed him into retirement.

By 1696 a united Whig ministry had been formed by the little knot of statesmen called the *Junto*. It included John Somers (Lord Keeper since 1693, and Lord Chancellor and a peer in 1697), a high-minded and skilful lawyer, "courteous and complaisant, humane and benevolent, of middle stature and of brown complexion"; Charles Montague, "a short fair man" (Lord Halifax in 1700), who was a wonderfully ready debater, and a very dexterous financier; Lord Orford, Bedford's nephew, the rough and vigorous hero of La Hogue; and Thomas Lord Wharton, a famous party manager, and violent partisan, "of a middling stature, fair complexion, somewhat lean, and, though growing old, with the behaviour of a young man of twenty-five."

The establishment of the first really united ministry in English history was the greatest indirect result of the Revolution. It was next found out that the party in power must be the party that was also in a majority in the House of Commons. Every change of ministry now brought these truths nearer home. At last the modern *Cabinet system* was established, which in time entirely took away from the king the chief share in the government of the country. But this was a very slow process, not worked out fully until after the accession of the house of Hanover.

8. The great expenses of the war forced Parliament to grant supplies of unheard-of amounts, and led to new expedients for raising money which mark an epoch in English finance. In 1692 Montague, as Chancellor of Finance and Trade, 1692-1702. the Exchequer, carried a *Land Tax* of four shillings in the pound despite the opposition of the Tory country gentlemen. As this did not bring in enough, Montague began the *National Debt*, by borrowing, not as hitherto, temporary loans for a short period, but permanent loans, the interest of which became a constant charge on the nation. In 1694 he followed the advice of the far-seeing Scotch projector Paterson, and established the *Bank of England*, a privileged company of merchants who, in return for a large loan to Government, were allowed special advantages in carrying on their banking business. The Bank proved a

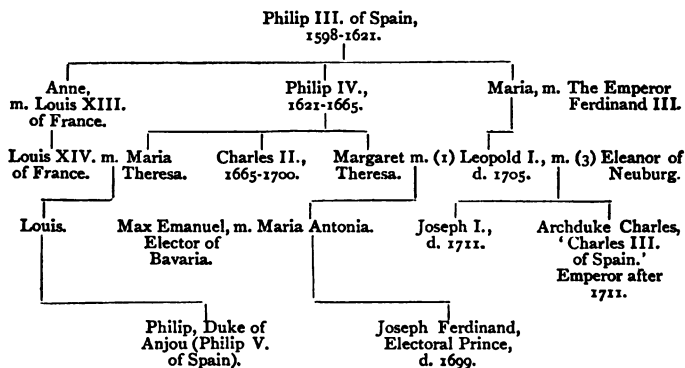
great success, because it gradually became the agent of the State for managing the national debt, and because it was so much safer than the goldsmiths who had hitherto taken charge of people's money. In 1695 the worn-out silver coinage was called in, and large amounts of new good silver coined, to the great convenience of all traders, Montague providing for the outlay by his plan of *Exchequer Bills*. Alarmed at the Whigs' successes in finance, the Tories started a *Land Bank*, which turned out an utter failure. But the East India Company, now getting very prosperous, was in Tory hands. So in 1698 the Whigs got a charter for a *new East India Company*, which they kept to themselves. For some years the two companies competed fiercely one against the other: but this harmed both alike, so that in 1702 they agreed to unite, and in 1708 the union was completed. In every way English commerce now grew apace. The old struggle with the Dutch had ended by the union of the two states under William. But the *Navigation Act* had worked its effects. Dutch commerce was now falling behind that of England, and required English help to protect itself against the rising trading navy of France. One result of this growth was that the English merchants secured much influence on English politics, and used it in favour of the Protestant succession.

9. The wave of commercial prosperity reached even Scotland, then a miserably poor and backward country, with little trade and less wealth. But the Scots had no chance of making money by foreign trade, because they had no colonies of their own, and the Navigation Act, which treated them as foreigners, shut them out from all trade with England and English colonies. Paterson, already famous as the real founder of the Bank of England, now came forward with a plan, which, he said, was to make Scotland a new Holland or Venice, the market of the world, and the greatest trading nation in Europe. His scheme was to establish a Scottish colony and trading station on the Isthmus of Darien or Panama, which separates North and South America. He believed that it would be able to bring nearly all the trade which went round the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, through his new colony. The Scots heard with enthusiasm that they had now a chance of getting rich. In 1695 an Act of Parliament established a great Scottish Company, with a monopoly of trade to Asia, Africa, and America. In 1698 Paterson and the first colonists left for Darien. But they found there a pestilential climate in which northern Europeans could not

live, and Spain, sluggish as she was, bitterly resented the settlement of the intruders on territories long claimed as Spanish. England would give no help; the first expedition fled from Darien; and a second one, which bravely settled among the abandoned ruins, was soon driven out by the Spaniards. The Scots were indignant that England had done nothing to help them in their plan to ruin English trade, and an angry feeling grew up between England and Scotland. But the whole scheme showed that union of the Crowns, without a union of the kingdoms, was more impossible than ever, after the Revolution had destroyed the dependence of Scotland on England, and left it free to work out its own fate.

10. The Treaty of Ryswick led to no lasting peace, for the

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, 1700.



sickly and half-idiotic Charles II. of Spain was now slowly dying, and there was no certainty who the next King of Spain would be. As Charles had no children, the nearest heir by blood was Louis, Dauphin of France, the son of Louis XIV., by his wife Maria Theresa, Charles's elder sister. But Maria Theresa had solemnly given up all claims on the Spanish inheritance, when she married the French king, though Louis pretended that this had no legal force because the *Cortes* (the Spanish Parliaments) had not agreed to it. But to avoid the danger to the European balance, which the

**The Spanish
Partition
Treaties,
1698-1700.**

union of France and Spain would have produced, the Dauphin gave up his claims to his younger son Philip, Duke of Anjou. But next in succession to the Dauphin was the Electress of Bavaria, who gave her right away to her son Joseph, the Electoral Prince. His claims also were barred by his grandmother Margaret's renunciation of her rights, but the European balance of power would not be upset by the union of Bavaria and Spain. There was yet a third claimant in the Emperor Leopold himself (*see* Table), whose mother Maria had made no renunciation like her nieces. The Emperor waived his right in favour of the Archduke Charles, his second son, by his second wife. If the renunciations held good, the Emperor's claim was best; if they were worthless, the right of the Dauphin could hardly be gainsaid. But the jealousy of Europe extended almost equally to either being made king, and as, just then, no one wanted war, the *First Partition Treaty* was secretly signed in October 1698 at The Hague, by which England and Holland (now always acting together, and often spoken of shortly as the Maritime Powers) agreed with France that the Electoral Prince was to be King of Spain and the Indies, and Lord of the Netherlands, while, by way of compensation for giving up her claims, France was to get Guipuscoa and Naples, and Austria the Milanese. The Spaniards were not so much as consulted, but when they heard of the treaty, they were very indignant at their great empire being cut into pieces by foreigners.

In 1699 the Electoral Prince Joseph died, but the Powers still sought to avoid war, and a *Second Partition Treaty* was signed in 1700, by which Louis recognised the Archduke Charles as King of Spain, and got the Milanese in addition to the cessions of the former treaty. This meant transferring the supremacy of Italy from the Hapsburgs to the Bourbons. Again news of the treaty leaked out, and the high-spirited Spaniards were more angry than ever. At last Charles II., worked upon by priests and women in the French pay, made a will giving the whole succession to the French claimant. Soon afterwards he died, and Louis XIV. threw over the Partition Treaty, and basely accepted the Spanish heritage for his grandson, rejoicing that the Pyrenees existed no longer, and that the great ambition of his life was fulfilled. Thus all William's designs seemed frustrated.

11. A strong Tory reaction followed the Treaty of Ryswick; in the new Parliament which met in 1698 the

regular Tories were joined by a noisy band of discontented Whigs that had long factiously opposed all William's most cherished plans. This new party first The Tory reaction, 1698-1701. showed its power by cutting down the army to 7000 men. and sending away William's trusted Dutch guards, believing that a standing army would prove, as in the cases of Cromwell and James II., fatal to liberty. The Tory Commons then plunged into a long and bitter fight with the Whig House of Lords. Complaining strongly, and not without reason, of William's lavish grants of Irish forfeited lands to his personal friends, the Commons passed in 1700 a *Resumption Act*, and forced the reluctant Lords to accept it, or leave the king penniless, by *tacking* it to a money bill which the Lords could not alter, but only accept or reject. William dissolved Parliament in disgust. But he had, unwillingly, to dismiss his Whig ministers, and take a Tory cabinet under Rochester and Godolphin.

In February 1701 the new Parliament met. Louis XIV. had now accepted the Spanish throne for his grandson, and had forced the Dutch to acknowledge King Philip by a threat of invasion. The Tory majority cared little for the European balance, and impeached Somers, Orford, Halifax, and Portland for making the Second Partition Treaty without the consent of Parliament. But the Lords put difficulties in the Commons' way, and refused to give them the time they wanted for completing the impeachment. Like sulky children the Commons refused to appear, so the Lords declared Somers acquitted.

12. The Commons also passed the *Act of Settlement*, made necessary by the death of the little Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, and by William's declining health. By it the Crown was Act of Settlement, 1701. settled, after Anne, on Sophia, electress of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the daughter of James I., and her heirs, being Protestants. But in order to annoy William, a series of constitutional safeguards were provided to come into operation with the succession to the throne under the Act. The king was not to leave England without the leave of Parliament. No minister, placeman, or pensioner of the Crown was to sit in the House of Commons. State business was to be transacted not in Cabinets such as the Whigs loved, but in the Privy Council. These three clauses, the first insulting to the Crown, the other two preventing the growth of the Cabinet system, were repealed under Anne, when the present plan was brought in of making

ministers seek re-election on their being put into place. No foreigner was to hold office or receive grants from the king. England was not to be entangled in war to protect a foreign king's foreign dominions. Judges were to have fixed salaries, to hold office during good behaviour, and only to be removeable by address of Lords and Commons.

13. The new Tories had now gone too far in persecuting their enemies, insulting the king, and in neglecting the honour and interests of England abroad. Yet the passing of the Act of Settlement by them shows how completely they

Whig reaction
and European
War, 1701-2.

had broken from the old Toryism with its theories of divine right. A strong reaction against them now broke out in the country. The grand jury of Kent petitioned the Commons to turn from profitless debating to grant supplies, and their example told in the country. The *Kentish Petition* was supplemented by the *Legion Memorial*, drawn up in vigorous language by the famous Whig pamphleteer Daniel Defoe. At last Louis roused English national feeling by visiting James II. on his deathbed (1701), and promising him to uphold his son as the true English king. William at once got rid of the Tory parliament and the Tory ministers, and the new elections sent up a Whig majority, eager for war against France. Parliament now attained the pretended Prince of Wales, and drew up a new abjuration oath. Meanwhile William was successfully building up a new *Grand Alliance* against the French. But his health, always weak, had now become deplorable, and the slight accident of a fall from his horse, which stumbled over a mole-hill, proved fatal. He died on 8th March 1702, just in time to know that England and Europe had refused to put up tamely with a French king of Spain.

14. William was a thin, careworn, sickly-looking man, with a high forehead, great hooked nose, and bright gleaming eyes. He suffered all through his life from asthma, and severe headaches, and was constantly threatened with consumption. He was silent, morose, with a cold, ungracious manner, and a touch of jealousy and peevishness. But he had an iron will and a dauntless courage, a strong sense of religion, and a great devotion to duty. He was at his worst in England, as he disliked the country and the people, and was always glad to get back to Holland. He spoke English badly, though fluently, and was careless of English party struggles. But he valued his position as English king because it helped him

Character of
William III.

to carry out the great object of his life, the degradation of France. Few Englishmen liked him, though he had done a great work for their country. Beyond war and politics he had few interests, caring only to amuse himself with the rougher and more dangerous sorts of hunting. He was one of the ablest statesmen of the century, and a steadfast and careful though unlucky general. He is the only great man who has been king of England since Henry VIII.

CHAPTER II.

Anne—1702-1714.

1. Queen Anne was "of the middle size, and well-proportioned. Her hair was of a dark-brown colour, her complexion ruddy; her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic." Accession and character of Queen Anne. She was good-natured, true to her friends, sincerely religious, and truly boasted to her parliament "that her heart was entirely English." She was well liked for her honesty and strong Tory and High Church feelings. But she was dull, obstinate, and narrow-minded, giving herself up altogether to the guidance of some stronger and abler friend. Since they had played together as children, Anne had been quite governed by clever, strong-willed, and handsome Sarah Jennings, who became the wife of Marlborough. "As a girl," says Lady Marlborough, "she had proposed that whenever I should happen to be absent, we might in all our letters write ourselves by feigned names such as would import nothing of distinction of rank between us. Morley and Freeman were the names her fancy hit upon. My frank open temper led me to pitch upon Freeman, and from this time Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman conversed as equals, made so by affection and friendship." Yet Lady Marlborough knew that "in matters of ordinary moment her discourse had nothing of brightness or wit, and in weightier matters she never spoke but in a hurry, and had a fault of sticking to what had been dictated to her without the least sign of understanding or judgment." In 1683 Anne had married Prince George of Denmark (brother of King Christian V.), who was made Duke of Cumberland, a man "of comely and erect aspect, blonde, and of the Danish countenance," but "very fat," and "of few words

and somewhat heavy, though reported to be valiant." All their children, to her intense grief, died young.

2. It was well for England that the new queen was so completely ruled by Marlborough and his wife, for Marlborough **Marlborough,** was the one man in Europe able to carry on **1689-1732.** the life-work of William III., and keep together the *Grand Alliance*. Marlborough was "a man of noble and graceful appearance," "tall and handsome, with a beautiful figure and irresistible manner"; yet, "with all his gentleness and gracefulness, no man living was more conscious of his situation nor maintained his dignity better." Though badly brought up, and unable to spell, he was a natural orator of the first rank. He was also a far-seeing and wise statesman, and the most brilliant general of his age, whose daring tactics, rapid movements, and dashing attacks were strongly in contrast to the stiff and slow movements of generals who liked sieges better than battles, and were enslaved by a rigid system of drill. Yet Marlborough was selfish and ungenerous, betraying friends and country when it paid him to do so, and using men as his tools to get himself on. He was cold-hearted and unfeeling, and greedy of money and place. But he had now bent his great faculties on a great object, and he carried his plans out with wonderful courage, temper, and skill.

3. William's death broke up the Whig ministry. Anne began to push forward Tories and High Churchmen both in **Ministerial** Church and State. She made Marlborough a **history,** duke, and captain-general of her army. His **1702-8.** close friend Godolphin (whose son married one of his daughters) now became Lord Treasurer, and Nottingham, the strictest of Churchmen, Secretary of State. But Marlborough and Godolphin, who really ruled the country, were afraid to go too far or to disgust the Whig supporters of King William's foreign policy. While winning over the clergy by restoring to the Church the tenths and first-fruits, which had belonged to the Crown since 1534 (this has been since used to increase poor livings, and is called *Queen Anne's Bounty*), they were afraid to press the *Bill against Occasional Conformity*, which sought to prevent Dissenters qualifying themselves for office by receiving once in the way the communion in church. Rochester, the leader of the "High-fliers," was disgusted at being only Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and threw up his office. Bit by bit the stronger Tories followed his example, and were led by him to oppose

the war, into the conduct of which Godolphin and Marlborough threw their whole energy. While Marlborough won great victories, Godolphin managed Parliament and got together supplies. The custom of both armies going into winter quarters allowed even Marlborough to lead his party in Parliament as well as his army in the field. Despairing of the extreme Tories, they sought, like William, to rule through a mixed ministry. But they found at last, like William, that the Whigs alone would really help them. To win the Whigs to their side, they had to offend the queen and the Church by voting against the Occasional Conformity Bill. In 1704 Nottingham joined Rochester in the opposition; but the Whig House of Lords backed up the Government, though it had great difficulties with High-Church and Tory majorities in the Commons. At last, in 1706, Marlborough made his son-in-law, Sunderland (son of the old adviser of James and William), Secretary of State. Sunderland was a strong Whig and a friend of the lords of the *Junto* still shut out from office. But the Tory section of the Cabinet grew angry at being gradually pushed from power, and began to intrigue against Marlborough. Robert Harley, the Tory Secretary of State, got a place at court for his Tory High-Church cousin, Abigail Hill, now married to a courtier named Masham. Her easy, placid ways soon won her Anne's favour, especially as the queen was getting quite tired of the Duchess of Marlborough's overbearing temper. She now told Anne that the Whigs were secretly plotting against the Church, and made her thoroughly suspicious of her leading ministers.

Whigs and Tories united in Parliament to attack the composite government. At last Marlborough and Godolphin found that they had to choose their side, and went over altogether to the Whigs as the only party zealous for their war policy. They now compelled the unwilling queen to turn out Harley (February 1708). With him Henry St. John, the Secretary at War, and Simon Harcourt, the Attorney-General, left the ministry. Zealous Whigs were put in their places. Somers became President of the Council, Orford First Lord of the Admiralty, and Robert Walpole, the most rising of the younger Whigs, was made Secretary at War. From 1708 to 1710 Marlborough and Godolphin kept themselves in power entirely through their old opponents. Foreign policy now really divided Whig and Tory. The Tory ministry had gradually turned into a Whig one.

The Whig
Ministry,
1708-10.

4. Marlborough finished the negotiations which William III. had almost carried through. On 4th May 1702 England, the United Provinces, and the Emperor declared war against France. A whole crowd of lesser states followed these great Powers. The Elector of Brandenburg (Frederick, son of the Great Elector, Frederick William) was bought over to the Coalition by being recognised as King of Prussia. The lesser German states were so much afraid of Louis, that even the sluggish Diet of the Empire declared war. Yet Louis had great resources at his back. He governed the richest, most compact, and in some ways the best ruled state in Europe. The army and fleet of France, with their famous generals and admirals and almost unbroken record of victories, were far larger and better managed than those of any other state. Every patriotic Castilian was deeply incensed at the proposed partition of the Spanish empire, and zealous on Louis's side. For the first time the Spanish Netherlands, with their mighty fortresses, were entirely in Louis's hands; and he could begin the war by attacking the Dutch frontier. Even in Germany the Elector of Bavaria and his brother the Elector of Cologne were French partisans; and in the east the discontented Hungarians and the warlike Turks were their constant allies against Austria. The Spanish Succession gave Louis practical command of Italy, especially as Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy and Lord of Piedmont, was the father-in-law of his grandson Philip of Spain. But mighty as were the two great coalitions, they did not include the whole of Europe. While the War of the Spanish Succession was waged in southern and central Europe, another great struggle was being fought out in the north and east, where Charles XII., the last of the great Swedish monarchs, and Peter the Great, the first of the great Russian Czars, were engaged in a deadly fight for the supremacy of the Baltic lands, which ended at last by the defeat of Charles at *Poltava* (1709), his subsequent captivity in Turkey, and the complete triumph of Russia.

The Dutch, more fearful of invasion than in 1672, made Marlborough commander of their army, but constantly kept him in check by their jealousy and sluggishness. Yet, in 1702, he managed not only to prevent invasion, but to capture Venlo, Liège, and a long line of fortresses on the Meuse, to overwhelm the Elector of Cologne, and to cut off the French from the Lower Rhine. But in Upper Germany the French, with their Bavarian allies, were more successful,

and in Italy they seemed so threatening that Savoy, in great alarm, joined the Coalition. Portugal, long closely connected with England, now signed the *Methuen Treaty* (1703), and united with the allies.

By this Portugal opened up her markets to English woollen goods; England took Portuguese wine at a third less duty than French. The result was that Englishmen gave up drinking claret and burgundy, and took to port, and Portugal became dependent on England, both in politics and trade.

5. Enemies now assailed France on every side, yet the mighty monarchy still more than held its own. The campaign of 1703 led to nothing great, as the fears of the Dutch prevented Marlborough carrying out his scheme for the capture of Blenheim,
1704. Antwerp and the invasion of Flanders. In 1704 things seemed even worse. "I see so ill a prospect," wrote Marlborough to Godolphin, "that I am extremely out of heart." A great French army, under Marshal Tallard, had joined the Bavarians, and was threatening Vienna, also menaced on the east by the revolted Hungarians. It seemed as if Austria would be forced to make peace. Help could only come from Marlborough. But his army was hundreds of miles away on the Lower Meuse; the armies of the time were unwieldy, and slow in moving, and the Dutch would never lay bare their own frontiers for the sake of their ally. Yet the great general at once made up his mind to march with his whole force from the Lower Meuse to the Upper Danube, though he could only get away from Holland by pretending that he wished to fight on the Moselle. But he hurried up the Rhine, past Coblenz and Mainz, to Mannheim, where he left the Rhine for the hilly and picturesque vale of the Neckar, crossing safely the rugged hills of Swabia, and reaching the Danube near Ulm.

Marlborough had already been joined by the German army under Louis, Margrave of Baden, a slow-minded and old-fashioned general. The gallant Prince Eugene of Savoy, the wisest of the Imperial generals, was commanding the army of the Rhine, against which Tallard had now again marched. The brilliant Marlborough and the heavy Margrave agreed to command their united army on alternate days. On Louis's days very little was done; but Marlborough showed great activity when his turn to act as general came, since he saw that his best chance was to crush the Bavarians before Tallard came back to help them. He therefore marched eastwards towards Donauwörth, stormed the strong hill called the *Schellenberg*, drove out the Bavarian army, captured Donauwörth, and its bridge over the Danube, and plundered and devastated the surrounding country.

The beaten Elector retreated southwards to Augsburg, whither Tallard was now again hurrying through the narrow passes of the Black Forest. Eugene, finding no enemy left on the Rhine, also joined Marlborough, and the two generals of genius persuaded Louis of Baden to leave them alone, and go off to besiege Ingoldstadt. Meanwhile Tallard again joined the Elector, and on 13th August a great battle was fought at *Blenheim*, called by the English *Blenheim*, a little village on the north bank of the Danube, a short way to the east of Höchstädt. The French and Bavarians took up their position facing eastwards on some rising ground at the bottom of which

the little river Nebel runs through marshes to join the Danube at Blenheim, which village was strongly entrenched, and held in force by Tallard himself. The left, further from the Danube, was commanded by the Elector, and the centre by Marshal Marsin. Against these Eugene fought, while Marlborough opposed Tallard. The English began the battle by a fierce attack on Blenheim; but all the efforts of the gallant Cutts and his grenadiers proved in vain, as the village was too strong to be taken. But Marlborough's quick eye soon saw that the French had weakened their centre to protect their right. He poured his troops over the treacherous marshes of the Nebel, and up the steep slopes beyond. After a fierce fight, the enemy's centre was broken. Tallard, cut off from the Elector, was forced to surrender with the



Walker & Boutall sc.

11,000 men that still survived of the defenders of Blenheim. On this, the Elector, who had hitherto held his own against Eugene, drew off his troops. It was a great victory. "Tallard's army," wrote Marlborough to his wife, "is quite ruined. Had Eugene's success been equal to his merit we should in that day's action have made an end of the war." As it was, a fatal blow was given to the prestige of the hitherto unbeaten armies of France. Vienna was saved, Bavaria was forced to sue for peace, and the French hurried back over the Rhine, whither Marlborough rapidly followed them.

6. The French made such great efforts that Marlborough failed in 1705 to carry out his plan of marching up the Moselle and invading

France, and was forced back to the Low Countries, where the dashing, sanguine, and vainglorious Marshal Villeroi had won back the fortresses captured in 1702, and was again threatening the Dutch frontier. Meanwhile all the genius of Eugene could not withstand the victorious French in Italy. But in 1706 Marlborough, disgusted at the poor results of the preceding campaign, again invaded the Spanish Netherlands, and fought on 23d May a decisive battle at *Ramillies* (north of Namur). It was almost Blenheim over again. The French were drawn up in a semicircle along a row of heights, and again made the mistake of sending too many troops to defend the strongest point of their position, the village of Autre Eglise on their left. But Marlborough's attack on that hamlet was only a feint to cover his real assault on the enemy's right, grouped round a barrow called the Tomb of Ottomond, immediately above Ramillies village. When this was captured, the enemy's left could no longer hold Autre Eglise, and the whole host fell back in panic flight on Brussels. The result was the capture of almost all the Spanish Netherlands by the allies. Brussels at once opened its gates: mighty fortresses like Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, and Ostend surrendered after a show of resistance. Mons and Namur alone remained to the French.

The loss of Flanders and Brabant was not the only French disaster in 1706. On 7th September Eugene won the decisive *battle of Turin*, which drove the French out of Italy, and brought Milan and Naples to accept the Archduke Charles as their king. An equally brilliant success attended the allies in Spain. In 1704 Admiral Rooke took the rock of Gibraltar by surprise while the sentries had left their posts to go to mass and pray for deliverance from the heretics. In 1705 the capture of *Barcelona* by the brave, rash, and eccentric Earl of Peterborough led to a great revolt of the Catalans against Castile in favour of the Archduke, who soon advanced to Madrid. But the English, Dutch, and Portuguese under the Huguenot refugee Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, had already marched up eastwards along the Tagus, and had proclaimed King Charles in the Spanish capital. Thus Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain seemed all lost to France.

7. France was not yet beaten. In Spain a great popular revolt brought back Philip to Madrid, and showed that Spanish national spirit was still too strong to suffer foreigners to force an unwelcome stranger into the throne of Philip II. The disorderly and badly led armies of the allies were soon forced to evacuate Madrid, and on 25th April 1707, the high-minded and valiant Duke of Berwick (son of James II. by Marlborough's sister, Arabella Churchill) won a complete victory at *Almanza*. It was all Charles could do henceforth to hold his own in Catalonia. Meanwhile the French Marshal Villars captured the *lines of Stollhofen*, and again opened out the way for the invasion of Upper Germany. Eugene failed completely in an attempt to invade France and capture *Toulon*. The French again began to make way in Flanders, where Marshal Vendôme ended a career of minor successes by the recapture of Ghent and Bruges in 1708. An attempt was even made to excite a Jacobite rising in Scotland, but James II.'s son, who called himself James III., fell ill of the measles just as he was going to start off, and when he got better Admiral Byng's fleet stood in his way.

The Campaign
of 1706.

Ramillies.

Turin.

Madrid.

French victories in 1707.

8. In 1708 Marlborough made a fierce effort to regain his lost ground. Vendôme was now besieging Oudenarde on the Scheldt, and Marlborough and Eugene resolved to fight a battle to save the town. By a series of dexterous manœuvres they got into a good position among the hills to the west of Oudenarde, while the French, owing to the jealousy felt between the shy and reserved Duke of Burgundy (Louis's grandson), the nominal general, and the real leader, the brutal, violent, but extremely able Vendôme, made all sorts of mistakes. On 11th July the *battle of Oudenarde* resulted in the complete defeat of the French. Their previous successes were now undone. The surrender of Lille, the key of French Flanders, in December left the way open for the invasion of France. In the same year General Stanhope conquered the island stronghold of *Minorca*.

9. In despair Louis XIV. sought peace, but the terms of the allies were so harsh that he was forced to carry on the war. He was willing to renounce the Spanish succession, but the allies, seeing that the expulsion of Philip was no easy task, insisted that he must help them with his troops to drive him out. "If I must fight," declared the old king, "I would rather fight against my enemies than my own children." So France, tired out as she was, prepared to resist invasion. Now that she stood at bay, with the national feeling thoroughly aroused, Marlborough had no easy task before him.

10. Before invading France, Marlborough busied himself with the capture of the few Netherland fortresses that still remained in the enemy's hands. With this object he and Eugene laid siege to *Malplaquet*, Mons. Thereupon Marshal Villars, the only unbeaten French general left, took up a very strong position a few miles south of the town, upon the ridge of the upland heath which is crowned by the village of *Malplaquet*. Dense woods protected the French flanks, and strong entrenchments were rapidly thrown up to further strengthen their position. On 11th September the allies marched to the assault of the almost impregnable heights. For a time the French held their own, and the allies suffered terribly. But Villars, like Tallard at Blenheim, weakened his centre to prevent the wood of Taisnière on his left from being taken by the daring of the English right under Withers. Marlborough soon perceived this, and succeeded in cutting his way through the enemy's middle lines. But he had lost 20,000 men, and the French had retreated in perfect order, and were ready for another battle. The chief result of this bloody day was the capture of Mons.

11. In 1710 a conference was held at *Gertruydenberg*, in Holland, but the allies would not listen to reasonable terms, so the war went on, though the time of glorious victories was now over. Little was done in the Netherlands during 1710 or 1711. In Spain, however (where the English Tories insisted the war ought chiefly to be carried on), General Stanhope succeeded for a second time in occupying Madrid for King Charles, but the national rising of the Spaniards made it quite impossible to hold it long, and Stanhope was forced to hurry back into Aragon. But Vendôme had now been sent to command the French and Spanish forces, and, as in 1707, it was not hard to get the better of the motley army of the allies. Stan-

hope was forced to surrender with most of his men at *Brihuega* (1710), and his colleague, the Austrian general Stahremberg, was only able to bring back to Barcelona a miserable remnant of 7000 men. Henceforth Philip reigned as undisputed king of Spain. Only the gallant Catalans continued to uphold King Charles.

The war was now being fought for very little. Louis's attempt to dictate to Europe had failed, and his power of further aggression was gone. But the allies had equally failed to invade France, or to force Charles upon the unwilling Spaniards, though they had succeeded in breaking up the Spanish power by the capture of the Netherlands and Italy. In 1711 Charles was elected the Emperor Charles VI. after the death of his brother Joseph I., who had succeeded Leopold I., their father, in 1705. Friends of the balance of power might argue that his establishment in Spain would be the revival of the empire of Charles V., which in its day had been as dangerous to Europe as that of Louis XIV. had ever been. But the new emperor's stubborn clinging to his claims combined with the sluggishness and fears of the Dutch to carry on the war, and reject Louis's overtures for peace. In England the continuance of the war now became a mere party question, and the destinies of Europe no longer depended on the armies in the field, but on parliamentary struggles and obscure court intrigues.

12. The Whigs still clung to power, but the game was now up. They were rudely exposed by the brilliant band of Tory pamphleteers, including Atterbury, Prior, Fall of the Whigs, 1710. and, towering above them all, Jonathan Swift (after 1713 Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin), whose Examiner and pamphlet on *The Conduct of the Allies* laid bare with fierce ruthlessness the factiousness of the ministry. Against them the rival Whig writers could make little way, though the polished wit of Addison and the vigorous ardour of Steele were both enlisted on that side. The majority of plain men, not bound to party, was now sick of the war; and popular feeling swung round still more strongly when the cry was raised that the Church was in danger through the Whig supremacy. Anne (who had now violently broken with the Duchess of Marlborough) was quite led away by this, and the strong High Church feeling in the country was inflamed almost to madness by the violent sermons of Dr. Sacheverell, chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark, a rash, hot-headed partisan, who denounced the Toleration Act and upheld the doctrine of non-resistance. At last the Government foolishly impeached Sacheverell for

a sermon preached at St. Paul's before a Tory Lord Mayor. The Whig House of Lords voted him guilty, but his only punishment was three years' suspension from preaching, and the burning of his sermons by the hangman. This sentence made the noisy doctor a popular hero, and a most useful electioneering agent for the Tories. Bit by bit the queen plucked up courage to bring back the Tories into office. By November the last of the Whigs were got rid of. The new elections sent back a strong majority of High Church Tories to the House of Commons, eager to upset the policy of their predecessors.

13. Robert Harley, made Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Oxford in May 1711, was now the chief minister. He **The Tory Min-** was a man "of low stature and slender," **istry, 1710-14.** "affable and courteous, and extremely easy and agreeable in conversation." He was a skilful party leader, though a poor speaker, slow, hesitating, timid, and too fond of underhand intrigue. "He had," says Dean Swift, "an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance." But the most attractive of the Tory statesmen was Henry St. John, Secretary of State since September 1710, and created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712. "He has," says Lord Chesterfield, "a very handsome person, with a most engaging address: and all the dignity and good breeding which a man of quality can have. All the internal and external advantages of an orator are undoubtedly his—figure, voice, elocution, knowledge." He was a famous man of fashion and letters, a brilliant writer, a philosopher, and a sceptic, besides being one of the greatest party leaders that England has ever seen. But he looked on politics as a mere game, and had little real earnestness and conviction. He laughed at the most cherished beliefs of the party that he hounded on to battle. Still his clear insight and rare knowledge of English character gave him and the popular, national, progressive Toryism which he represented a lasting influence on English politics. Rochester now became President of the Council, and Harcourt Lord Chancellor.

14. Thwarted on every side, Marlborough came home in November 1711, after a fruitless campaign. Grave charges **The Peace of** of peculation and fraud were now brought **Utrecht, 1713.** against him and his friends, and twelve Tory peers (one of whom was Abigail Masham's husband) were made all at once to get rid of the friendly Whig majority in the upper house. On 31st December he was turned out of all his offices, "in order that the matter might undergo an

impartial investigation." A few months later Godolphin, his only true friend, died. The Jacobite Duke of Ormonde, a well-bred, good-looking, but not very competent soldier, was made commander of the English army, but he withdrew from all active share in the war, while St. John hurried through negotiations for peace. The Tories now showed as much factiousness in ending as the Whigs had shown in refusing to end the war. They threw over their allies, who, without English help, could do very little, and let Louis have more favourable terms than he himself had formerly offered at Gertruydenberg. At last, on 31st March 1713, the *Peace of Utrecht* was signed, though it was not till 1714 that the slow and tenacious emperor brought himself to end the war by the *Treaty of Rastadt*.

The terms of peace were :—1. Philip V. was recognised as king of Spain and the Indies, the Catalans who had fought so well for Charles being abandoned to his rival's mercy. 2. The emperor was compensated by the cession of Milan, Naples, and Sardinia. 3. The Spanish Netherlands were handed over to the Dutch, who were, however, to resign them to the emperor, after he had made with them a *Barrier Treaty*, providing for Dutch garrisons of the great fortresses on the French frontier. (This was only done in 1715 after much quarrelling, the emperor being naturally disgusted at the way England and Holland sacrificed the Netherlands to their political and trading interests.) 4. Sicily was ceded to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King. 5. Prussia was recognised as a kingdom and Hanover as an electorate. (This treaty marks the beginning of the importance of Savoy and Prussia.) 6. The Protestant succession in England was recognised. 7. France ceded to England Newfoundland, Acadie (Nova Scotia), and the Hudson's Bay Territory, and agreed to pull down the fortifications of Dunkirk. 8. A favourable commercial treaty was proposed tending towards free-trade between England and France, but this fell through owing to parliamentary opposition, to Bolingbroke's great disgust. 9. Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to England, and made the *Asiento* (or contract) which gave England the exclusive right, formerly held by France, of supplying the Spanish American colonies with negro slaves. Besides this very lucrative monopoly in human flesh, England could also send one ship a year to Portobello in South America.

15. The Treaty of Utrecht was a complete triumph for the Tories. Secure of popular support, they looked forward to a long lease of power. But the great danger before them lay in the weak health of Queen Anne. The Act of Settlement made Sophia, Electress of Hanover, the eldest surviving Protestant daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, James I.'s daughter, and the sister of Princes Rupert and Maurice, the next in succession ; but she was now over eighty years of age. Her son,

The Jacobite
Conspiracy.
1713-14.

George Louis (Elector since 1698), was a decided enemy of the peace of Utrecht, and known to be friendly to the Whigs. If he became king there was little hope of keeping the Tories in power. Bolingbroke was, above all things, a strong party man, and though no believer in divine right, or friend of Popery, preferred a Tory to a Whig king. So he began to prepare the way for bringing back Anne's half-brother, James, generally called the Chevalier of St. George, or the Pretender. Anne herself was not unwilling, and the High Churchmen were still strongly influenced by their old doctrines of passive obedience and divine right. If James had not been a steadfast Roman Catholic the plan would not have been hard, as the Hanover succession excited no enthusiasm whatever. As it was, many strong Churchmen forgot their Protestantism in their zeal for the Stewart cause.

Having made up his mind, Bolingbroke threw himself with his usual eagerness into his new and treasonable policy, and was actively backed up by Ormonde, Harcourt, Sir William Wyndham, by Atterbury, the fiery High Church Bishop of Rochester, and by Dean Swift. But the cautious and vacillating Harley could hardly be won over, so fresh intrigues were set on foot to discredit him.

Active preparations were now made to upset the Act of Settlement. Strong efforts were made to use the High-Church feeling in the country to get back a king who was not a Churchman. The clergy had already been well rewarded for their great share in the Tory triumph. In 1711 the *Occasional Conformity Act* (which fined and disqualified all officials who attended any conventicle, and thus made it useless for dissenters to make themselves eligible for municipal offices by taking the Communion once a year in church) had been carried, Whigs vying with Tories in supporting the bill to disprove the taunt that they were at heart enemies of the Church, and buying thus the support of Nottingham and a little band of discontented Tories, shut out of the ministry. A bill was next passed to build fifty new churches in the rapidly increasing suburbs of London, a much-needed measure, but one by no means passed through pure zeal for religion. Finally the *Schism Act* (1714) was carried, which absolutely prevented any dissenter from acting as a schoolmaster or tutor; but this never came into operation.

The Whigs were almost in despair, when the elections of 1713 sent a new Tory parliament to Westminster. They

tried to bring the Electoral Prince of Hanover (afterwards George II.) to England, to take his seat in the Lords as Duke of Cambridge ; but this unwise move led only to a personal quarrel between Anne and the old Electress, who died shortly after. But the Whigs' best hopes were in the bad health of the queen and the disunion of the Cabinet. At last the long smouldering dispute between Oxford and Bolingbroke burst to a flame. On 27th July 1714 a fierce altercation in the sick queen's presence was kept up till two in the morning, and only ended by Anne's taking away from Oxford the White Staff of the Treasurer. Instigated by Lady Masham, who had now deserted her cousin for Bolingbroke, Anne now complained that "he neglected all business, never told the truth, often came drunk to her presence, and behaved himself with great disrespect to her."

16. Bolingbroke put Jacobites into the vacant offices, and made ready for a revolution. But Anne never got over the stormy scene of Oxford's dismissal. On 30th July she had a fit of apoplexy, and lay speechless and without hope of recovery. All was now excitement. The Whigs prepared to fight, and the Tories did not know what to do. The able Duke of Shrewsbury, who had begun life as a Whig but now held office with the Tories, was at the last moment seized with scruples. The Cabinet met at Kensington to decide on what course to pursue. Suddenly the Whig Dukes of Argyll and Somerset appeared and demanded admission as Privy Councillors. The law knew nothing of Cabinet Councils, and it could only be as Privy Councillors that the ministers had met together. Shrewsbury, by previous arrangement, backed up their claims ; and they in return urged his appointment as Treasurer. The White Staff was at once put into his hands by the half-unconscious and dying queen. The three dukes now took everything upon themselves, and prepared to secure the Protestant succession. The baffled conspirators were quite overpowered when, disregarding the Cabinet, the dukes got special summonses to the Council for all the Privy Councillors, mostly Whigs, living in London. On 1st August Queen Anne died, and, though some desperate men were for proclaiming the Pretender, the risk was too great. "In six weeks more," moaned Bolingbroke, "we should have put things in such a condition that there would have been nothing to fear. But Oxford was removed on Tuesday ; the queen died on Sunday ! What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us !"

Intervention
of the Whig
Dukes and
death of Anne,
1714.

17. The reign of Queen Anne witnessed the Union between England and Scotland. The stormy history of Scotland in the years succeeding the Revolution of 1688 showed clearly that some great change was required. There had been much bad blood between England and Scotland during the time that the Stewart kings had frankly sought to make Scotland depend upon England. But much worse feelings grew up after the Revolution left Scotland a small free state bound to a greater and richer one by no other tie than subjection to a common sovereign. Scots now found that they were shut off from all the sources of wealth which were making England the greatest commercial country of the world. The Darien failure had shown that Scotland, as the weaker power, would be obliged, in really essential matters, to follow the lead of England. The result was the bitterest ill-will between the two nations. Wise men, like William III., saw that separation or fuller union were now the only ways out of the deadlock. But if William pressed for a union, the new "*Patriotic Party*," which now grew up in Scotland, would be satisfied with nothing less than complete separation. This party centred round the *Club*, and had for its leader Andrew Fletcher of Salton, in East Lothian, an aristocratic republican, like the old Commonwealth's men. He was "a thin man, of a brown complexion ; full of fire, with a stern sour look ; but a gentleman of nice honour, and abundance of learning, bold as a lion ; a sure friend, and an irreconcilable enemy ; whose thoughts were large as to religion," and who "would not be under the distinction of a Whig or Tory, saying, those names are used to cloak the knaves of both." Largely through his influence the negotiations for union which, through William's influence, had begun in 1702, came to an end in 1703.

In 1703 the Scottish Parliament (still bitterly mortified by the Darien failure) met under the Duke of Queensberry, a lazy and easy-tempered, but shrewd and far-seeing man, as Lord Commissioner. Fletcher brought forward a *Bill of Security*, which provided that, on Queen Anne's death, the Scottish throne should go to some Protestant descendant of the royal house, but excluding the successor to the English crown, "unless the sovereignty of this kingdom, the frequency of its Parliaments, and its religious freedom and trade be secured from English or any foreign influence." Fletcher also proposed a series of *Limitations*, in case the two countries remained under the same monarch which transferred

The Union
between Eng-
land and
Scotland,
1702-7.

the whole executive power from the Crown to a Committee of the Estates, while providing for parliamentary reform and a national militia. Both measures were eagerly accepted, and Government, though refusing to touch with the sceptre (the way of signifying the Crown's approval of Scottish laws) the Bill of Security, did not dare to refuse the royal assent to the Limitations. Thereupon Fletcher carried a resolution "that, after the decease of her Majesty, we will separate our Crown from that of England." All subsidies were refused, and toleration to Episcopalian dissenters contemptuously rejected. Next year the same stormy scenes were renewed, and the timidity of Godolphin and the new Commissioner, the Marquis of Tweeddale, led to the royal assent being given even to the *Act of Security*.

The English Parliament, not unnaturally, retaliated, the Whigs pressing for severe measures in order to embarrass the Tory government. All trade with Scotland was cut off, Scots were declared aliens, Newcastle and Carlisle were fortified, the militia of the four northern shires called out, and all available troops marched to the Border. But the hopelessness and wantonness of the struggle, the pressure of the Court influence, dislike to play the game of the Jacobites, and a shrewd sense of the benefits to be got from commercial union gradually got the better of the patriotic enthusiasm of the Scottish Parliament. In vain Fletcher joined forces with the Jacobites. In 1705 Tweeddale formed a middle party called the *Squadron Volante* (Italian for *Flying Squadron*, a name given at that time to a party of cardinals in the papal court), which, though professing to hold the balance between patriots and courtiers, on the whole favoured the reasonable schemes of union which were now brought forward. England therefore showed a conciliatory spirit by dropping the Alien Act.

Early in 1706 both nations appointed Commissioners to treat for a union. Two months were spent in active negotiations. At last a *Treaty of Union* was drawn up, and laid before the two Parliaments. There was nothing to fear at Westminster, but a last expiring effort was made at Edinburgh to overthrow the hated measure. Riots broke out, which showed the unpopularity of the Act out of doors. But the Duke of Hamilton (the greatest lord on the patriotic side, who had even hoped to become king under the Act of Security) lost courage at the critical moment, and in January 1707 the Act was passed by a majority of 40.

The terms of the *Union* were :—1. There should be one kingdom, one Parliament, one Privy Council, one Government, and one succession to the throne. The United Kingdom was to be called Great Britain, and its arms and national flag, the "Union Jack," made of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew combined into one. The Scotch government departments were mostly transferred to London, but put under a new minister, the Secretary of State for Scotland. (In 1746 this office was abolished, and Scotch business shared by the other two Secretaries.) 2. Scotland was to be represented in the United Parliament by 45 commoners and 16 elected representatives of the Scottish peerage. 3. The Presbyterian Church government was declared "for ever unalterable, and the only government of the Church within Scotland," and every monarch of the United Kingdom was required to swear at his accession to protect it. A special Act of Security was passed by the Scots to provide for this, and also for the freedom of the four Scottish Universities. 4. The Scottish legal system (so different from that of England) was not to be affected by the Union, though there was now an appeal from the Court of Session to the House of Lords. 5. The Scotch debt was paid off, the Darien Company dissolved, and its shareholders compensated, and the proportion of Scotch taxation fixed. 6. The English coinage was brought in, which was the easier, as there was already a scarcity of the depreciated Scottish coins. 7. Complete equality of trade between the two countries was established, so that Scots might trade with the English colonies.

The Union did not at first practically affect the lawless freedom of the Celtic Highlanders; but in the Lowlands, which really were Scotland, it was felt as a grievous blow to national feeling, and long remained intensely unpopular. But the wise care taken to uphold the Scotch Church and the Scotch law blunted the sharpest edge of hostility. Bit by bit the opening up of trade began to work its results. Glasgow became a great port and the rival of Bristol and Liverpool in the American trade. The idle and vagrant population (which Fletcher in despair had proposed to turn into slaves) now acquired those habits of thrift and industry which mark the modern Scot. Mines were opened up; the soil was tilled with more energy and success; the linen and iron trades took a deep hold of the country; and the great growth of trade and manufactures in the middle of the eighteenth century completed the formation of modern industrial Scotland. The Union Parliament proved on the whole very careful to uphold Scottish privileges. The ill-judged restoration of patronage in the Scottish Church by the Tories under Queen Anne was the only really important instance of disregard for Scottish feeling. So gradually the old dislike died away, though all through the eighteenth century much bad blood remained. So great a man and shrewd a thinker as David Hume, the philosopher and

EUROPE
in 1713.

Austrian dominions in 1720. ————
Prussian " " " " " "
Sardinian " " " " " "
English possessions underlined
thus:- Gibraltar

Tangier 6 (1704)
(time of Charles II.)

historian, regarded England with intense detestation ; and so late as the reign of George III. Wilkes the agitator was applauded for maintaining that a "Scot should have no more rights in England than a Hanoverian or a Hottentot." Twice disgust for the Union made Protestant Scotland an easy conquest to Popish Pretenders. But as time went on community of blood, tongue, and interests began to assert themselves against the animosities of centuries. The Scots had withstood the Union, fearing for their national life. But they won the best share of the advantages that accrued from it, and found that their national life could still live on even without their separate Parliament.

CHAPTER III.

George I. of Brunswick, 1714-1727.

1. The new king was over fifty years old, "rather pale, not tall, of an aspect rather good than august." He was a slow-minded, heavy man, with fixed ways. He never took the trouble to learn English, and still less to study the English constitution or character. He looked on his throne in England as giving him a stronger position in Germany. Too prudent and sensible to offend his new subjects, he did not try to put his friends, Bothmer and Bernstorff, into high place, but was quite satisfied with a fair *civil list*, freedom to go to Hanover when he chose, and English peerages for his German mistresses. He had been so much frightened by the Tories that he put himself altogether into the hands of the Whigs. The *Lords Justices*, chosen to rule the land until his coming, were all Whigs. The Tory ministers were turned out one by one, and soon after his landing a thorough Whig ministry was appointed. In the Whig Parliament, which met in January 1715, Oxford was *impeached* and sent to the Tower. Bolingbroke fled in despair to France, and became Secretary of State to the Pretender. Ormonde, failing to raise a revolt, followed him into exile. Acts of *attainder* were passed against both. The Tory party, so proud of being above all things national, was now bound up with the Pretender and his foreign and Catholic allies. The strong Church feeling which had been its great

Accession of
George I. Fall
of the Tories,
1714.

strength withered under the rising spirit of *Rationalism*. It was represented in Parliament by a few country squires, led by Sir William Wyndham, a fair speaker, but not a man of first-rate parts. In the country it was hopelessly broken.

2. The triumph of the Whigs was as lasting as it was thorough. From 1714 to 1761 none but Whigs The Whig Ministry, 1714-17. held office. The head of the new ministry

was the Secretary of State, Lord Townshend, a great Norfolk nobleman, "haughty in his carriage, and with manners coarse and seemingly brutal, but his nature was by no means so." The other Secretary was the soldier statesman General Stanhope (after 1717 Lord Stanhope), "a handsome black man" and "a man of strong and violent passions," but whose "plain dealing, generosity, and frankness, natural and prevailing eloquence, and heroic courage in the field" were the admiration of his friends. Next in real weight, though only Paymaster of the Forces, was Robert Walpole, of Houghton, in Norfolk, Townshend's brother-in-law and neighbour,—fat, good-tempered, shrewd, coarse, and cynical. In 1715 Walpole however was made First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sunderland had to be contented with the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. He was a fanatical Whig, "the most intriguing and the most violent man of his time," and had "a fixed and settled sourness on his face that repelled the gaze." The Secretary at War was William Pulteney, the orator of the party, and a man "of much lively ready wit," but naturally lazy, changeable, and dissatisfied. A satirist describes him as

' Stiff in his popular pride;
His step, his gait, describe the man,
They paint him better than I can—
Waddling from side to side."

Marlborough was nominally Commander-in-chief, but his influence was gone: he was no longer trusted by his colleagues, his health was failing, and ere long he was smitten with palsy, and, lingering on a while, a sad spectacle of ruin, he died in June 1722.

3. Under the first two Georges the full effects of the Revolution of 1688 were finally worked out. Cabinet Government and the Whig aristocracy, 1714-60. The *executive power*, which the theory of the constitution still gave to the king, was practically *put into the hands of the Cabinet*, that is, a small body of men agreeing on all the main questions

of the day, and commanding the confidence of the majority of the House of Commons. While the personal power of the king was much cut down, that of the Crown as exercised by the *Cabinet* grew greater and greater. The old constitution, unchanged in form, was practically laid aside for the *unwritten constitution of understandings or conventions* under which England has almost ever since been governed. Many of the legal powers of the Crown fell into complete disuse. No Hanoverian monarch has ever refused his consent to a law passed by the Lords and Commons. The House of Lords was no longer co-ordinate in power to the House of Commons. But its strong Whig sympathies, which had so often brought it into conflict with the other House, when the Tories were uppermost, now brought about more friendly dealings with a Whig House of Commons.

Now that Parliament had got the upper hand, and the final authority in the country itself really rested with the Commons, the question how the House of Commons was chosen became for the first time an important one. Few members were really elected by the people. The counties, which returned two members apiece, were looked on as the freest electing bodies, but here only landowners could vote. There were many "rotten boroughs" with hardly any inhabitants, and some great towns had no members. Many were the nominees of great landowners, or of rich merchants, or were returned by so poor or so narrow a constituency that the government of the day could force the election of almost any man it chose upon it. Thus *electioneering* became a regular system. Quite as important was the *art of parliamentary management*, by which the ministry sought to keep its hold over the members already elected. Influence, intrigue, as well as direct and unscrupulous bribery, were freely used. Skill in such arts gradually threw real power into the hands of a ring of great land-owning families. What the king lost the great Whig houses gained. They owned the smaller boroughs, and could control the elections in the counties. Their favour was the road to power and place, both in Church and State. But, now the Whigs had the upper hand, they forgot their old popular cries, and got out of touch with the people. Thinking they had got all the country wanted by the Revolution settlement, they became conservative and opposed all new and sweeping changes. But they gave England fifty years of sound administration and of practical

reforms ; and their calm and uneventful rule was the best thing for the country.

4. The failure of the Jacobite Rebellions in 1715 showed both the strength and the wisdom of the new ^{The Jacobite rising of 1715.} government. An elaborate plot had been formed ; parts of England and Scotland were to rise on the same day. French help was confidently looked for by the Tories who had carried the Treaty of Utrecht, but the death of Louis XIV. deprived the Pretender of his best friend, as Philip, Duke of Orleans, the Regent for the infant Louis XV., who now became king, was forced by the weakness of his position to court the favour of England. All hope of French help was thus lost. But besides their bad luck the Jacobite leaders were very ignorant and foolish. Bolingbroke was their one strong head, but Bolingbroke was powerless to contend against the intriguers and blunderers in whom alone the Pretender believed. The English Government found out their most secret plans. Early in 1715 the *executive power* had been strengthened by the passing of the *Riot Act*.

This made it felony for twelve or more persons, assembled against the king's peace, not to disperse within an hour of being ordered to do so by a justice of the peace or other lawful authority, and enacted that if any were killed in resisting such a dispersion, their slaying should not be looked upon as murder.

Prompt vigour now nipped in the bud the movement in England. Six Tory members of Parliament, among whom was Sir W. Wyndham, were arrested. Oxford, where the University was strongly Jacobite, was occupied by troops. Ormonde landed in Devonshire, but failed to raise the country, and retreated to France. South of the Tweed the only actual revolt was in Northumberland, where a few hundred insurgents gathered together under the incompetent leadership of Thomas Forster, member for the county. Being a Protestant, he was chosen as general rather than Catholic peers like Lord Widdrington, or even Charles II.'s grandson, the chivalrous Earl of Derwentwater, "a man formed by nature to be generally beloved."

5. In Scotland the revolt took a deeper root. The Highlanders, whose fathers Montrose and Dundee had led to victory, were still zealous for the Stewarts, and the Government in Edinburgh and London ^{State of the Highlands.} could not disarm the 30,000 clansmen ever eager to follow their chiefs to battle. Beyond the Grampians and the Firth of Clyde the old picturesque, disorderly Celtic tribe-

system still lived on. There, moor and mountain kept apart from each other and from Saxon law the little tribal communities that swarmed in every strath and glen. The people were poor and rude ; their houses turf-walled cots ; their only wealth cattle ; their only language Gaelic. Their national garb was a linen shirt and tartan plaid, often varying in colour or pattern with the clan, and buckled tight round the body so that the lower part came over the knees, and the other was drawn up to the left shoulder. The better off would wear over this a waistcoat and jacket or short coat ; a large skin purse hanging before the plaid ; a bonnet, in which a feather marked the gentleman, and, on horseback, the gentry wore *trews*, or close-fitting breeches and stockings, woven in one piece. Their bards and pipers were the chroniclers of their fame, their mourners, their encouragers to valour. They had little book-learning, and believed in ghosts, wizards, and the evil eye, but they cared little for the contests of Prelatists and Presbyterians, and in some cases were professed Catholics. A French education and loyalty to the exiled Stewarts made many of the gentry fervent in the old faith. Politeness, good taste, devotion to old poetry and stories, simplicity, bravery, contentment, self-sacrificing devotion to their chief, and passionate love for their native glens and moors were their highest virtues. But they were idle, untruthful, sullen, revengeful, and quick to shed blood. Rival clans waged hereditary feuds with each other, but would sometimes join in plundering the Saxons. They saw no wrong in a *creach* (foray), or in lifting the cattle which cropped the grass of their enemy. A chosen class of marauders, the *Cearnachs* (Kerns), consisting mostly of the sons of the *tacksmen* (lower gentry), levied systematic *blackmail* on Lowland farmers and graziers, who paid the money to save their lands from attack when the wild Highlanders came down from the hills. The famous swordsman, Rob Roy [Red Robert] Macgregor, was one of these. For thirty years he waged open war against the Duke of Montrose, and at last died in his bed at the age of eighty, and was followed to his grave by the whole country-side. Thirty miles off were the garrison of Stirling and the great city of Glasgow. Yet no law could ever reach the valiant outlaw.

The old Scottish kings had long been so weak that they had given up nearly all royal powers over the Highlands by *grants of regality* and *hereditary jurisdictions* which enabled the great lords that received them to govern like

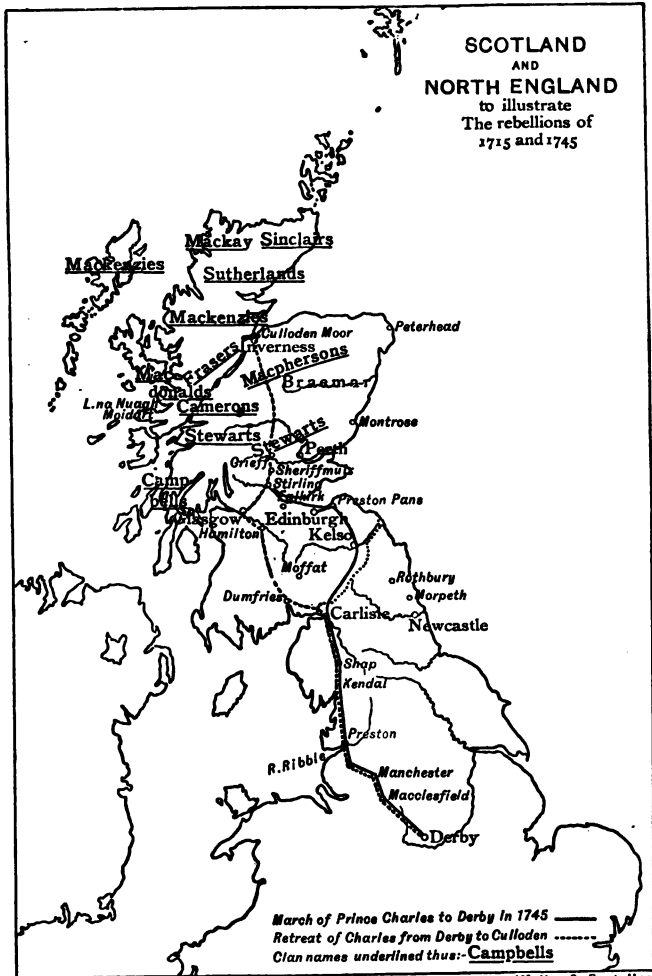
kings the districts intrusted to their care, and hand on their power to their sons. Some of these were also the chiefs of the clans, who, if they also held hereditary jurisdiction of the king, were in a strong legal position. But most deference was paid to the clan chieftains' vague patriarchal authority which no Saxon law, but time-hallowed and strongly-binding custom, allowed them to exercise over their dependants and kinsfolk. It was despotic, yet limited by another custom, which gave each tenant a right to his little holding, while the elders of the tribe held in check weak or violent chiefs. Even when the Highlander held his land and attended the courts of an alien landlord, he still looked up to the chief of his clan, and followed him as of old to battle and the chase. Yet though no clan family, the Drummonds were, in the early years of the eighteenth century, still proud of the dexterity of their executioner; and the Duke of Atholl, another border lord, condemned to death and pardoned a criminal when entertaining Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the famous President of the Court of Session and the great enemy of these feudal and tribal rights. Nevertheless those Macphersons, who were tenants on the Atholl estates in Badenoch, followed their chief Cluny, and not the Duke, and Atholl's Cameron tenants from Lochaber clave in the same way to Lochiel. But of his own clan, a thousand Stewarts of Atholl would follow him to the field. Other great nobles at the head of clans were the cunning Lord Lovat, the despot of the Frasers of Inverness-shire, Lord Seaforth, the chief of the Mackenzies of Ross-shire, Lord Reay, the head of the Mackays, and the Earl of Sutherland, who could muster 2000 swordsmen of his clan. But the most powerful Highland noble was the Duke of Argyll. Called in the Highlands the Maccallum More, and the head of the Campbells, Argyll and his kinsfolk could bring 5000 men into the field to defend Whig principles, the Protestant succession, and the Presbyterian Church. The other western clans, such as the Macdougalls of Lorn, the Macleans of Douart, and the Stewarts of Appin, were hard pressed by the cunning and aggressive Campbells. The Campbells' most powerful rival was the great north-western clan of the Macdonalds, whose head was once Lord of the Isles, and who, even in their decline, could muster 2350 men under their five chiefs, Slate, Clanranald, Glengarry, Keppoch, and Glencoe. Macdonald of Keppoch, says President Forbes, "was not proprietor of a single ridge of land, but only a tacksman of

the laird of Mackintosh and the Duke of Gordon, yet he can raise 300 followers." "The name of the clan Macgregor (Rob Roy's clan) was called down by Act of Parliament, and they now live dispersed under different names [such as Campbell]. They have no present chief, that being elective, and continuing no longer than the current expedition; they can raise 700 men."

The Highlander was armed "with a gun, a strong hand-some target, with a sharp-pointed steel spike, on his arm, a sturdy claymore [broadsword] by his side, and a pistol or two, with a dirk [short, broad-bladed dagger], and knife in his belt." The gentry still wore armour sometimes, and they had only just given up bows and arrows. Each clan made a regiment. Their invariable tactics were to advance swiftly till within a few yards of the enemy, when they stopped a moment, poured in a brisk volley of musketry, and then, throwing down their guns, dashed forward, claymore in hand, receiving and turning the enemies' bayonets on their targets, and dealing tremendous strokes on their hampered foes; if they were at too close quarters to wield the broadsword, they would do deadly work with dirk and pistol. Few of the stiff, formally-drilled troops of this time could withstand their swift and reckless charge.

6. The few garrisons planted by William III. in the Highlands were powerless to hold such a people in check, and were prevented from working together to put down disorder by the complete want of roads. The Scotch risings, 1715-16. The task of raising the clans in favour of the Stewarts was now intrusted to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, sometime Scotch Secretary to the Tory Government, but a man of weak and unscrupulous character, who had changed his front so often that he had won the nickname of "Bobbing John." On 1st August he attended King George's levee. Next day he hurried secretly to the Highlands, where, on 6th September, he raised the standard of James VIII. in Braemar. The clans of the Eastern and Central Highlands soon gathered together under his command, and, though an attempt to seize Edinburgh Castle failed, the whole country north of the Tay recognised the Stewart king. In the south, disgust at the Union made even Whigs careless of King George. Both there and in his Western Highlands John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, "haughty, passionate, peremptory, gallant, and a good officer," vigorously upheld the fortunes of the House of Hanover.

SCOTLAND
AND
NORTH ENGLAND
to illustrate
The rebellions of
1715 and 1745



Walker & Boutwell & Co.

In the hills of southern Scotland, on 12th October, Lord Kenmure proclaimed the Stewart king at Moffat, in Dumfriesshire, and gathered a force of 200 horsemen, including the Earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath. On 19th October they joined the Northumbrian insurgents at Rothbury. Mar had lingered aimlessly at Perth, while the Duke of Argyll's army was collecting; but he now sent Brigadier Mackintosh with nearly 2000 men to make a diversion in the south. Mackintosh's troops were ferried over the Forth in open boats, and their approach filled Edinburgh with terror. But the arrival of Argyll frightened them from attacking the city; and Mackintosh crossed Lammermoor, and soon joined Kenmure and Forster at Kelso. But the united forces marched purposelessly along the Cheviots, instead of turning to take Argyll in flank, or advancing boldly into England to attack the army that General Carpenter was gathering at Newcastle. At last it was resolved to invade Lancashire. The *posse comitatus* of Cumberland fled in panic before them, and on 9th November they reached Preston, where many of the neighbouring Catholic gentry joined them. But Carpenter was coming up in their rear, and General Wills, with another army, was advancing from Manchester. The bridge over the Ribble, which might have been defended, was abandoned by the folly of Forster, and, after a show of resistance, the helpless chief, and his mob of bad soldiers, surrendered at discretion on 13th November.

Meanwhile Mar had been waiting idly at Perth, and Argyll had got together a fair-sized army at Stirling, while the Earl of Sutherland had secured the extreme north for the Government. At last, 10th November, Mar moved southward, and on the very day of the disaster at Preston the armies met on the *Sheriffmuir of Menteith* (near Dunblane). The Highland right, stung to madness by the death of Clanranald, charged with such fury that the left wing of the enemy was completely routed. Meanwhile Argyll, with his right wing, had driven the Jacobite left across the river Allan, but in the pursuit he abandoned his own defeated troops. Mar's sluggish lack of heart saved the Hanoverian army from complete defeat. Argyll held the field; the Stewarts of Appin, the Camerons of Lochiel, and many other Highland clans went home for a while. The landing of the Pretender at Peterhead, on 22d December, kept the rest together for a short time longer; but his followers lost all heart when they found that the tall,

meagre, silent, melancholy prince had neither courage to lead them nor faith in his own cause. Argyll was now reinforced by 6000 good and faithful Dutch troops, and on 30th January the prince was compelled to give up Perth, Mar's old headquarters. On 4th February James and his general ran away from their followers at Montrose, and went back to France, where Bolingbroke was made the scapegoat of his failure. The Highland host melted away amidst the wilderness of Badenoch and Lochaber. Many prisoners had been taken at Preston, and seven noblemen were condemned as traitors; but of these only Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed. Nairn, Carnwath, Widdrington were let off. Nithisdale (through the devotion of his wife) and Wintoun escaped from prison. Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh were also captured and condemned, but managed to break out of gaol. Twenty-six of less note were hanged.

7. The country was still excited, and the Government, knowing that the unpopularity of the Stewarts rather than the popularity of the new dynasty had caused the The Septennial Act, 1716. collapse of the rebellion, feared to risk a general election in 1716. They accordingly repealed the *Triennial Act* of 1694, and passed instead the *Septennial Act*, increasing the length of Parliament to seven years, which is still the law of the land. The sitting Parliament continued its own existence under the terms of the new Act. This was denounced as highly unconstitutional by the Tories, but an Act of Parliament can do what it likes, and it would have been foolish to have had a new election when the country was so disturbed. The result of the Act was to make the House of Commons more independent of its constituents, and so render it easier for the Whig houses to manage Parliament, and keep power in their own hands.

8. Personal disputes between the different sections of the Whigs kept up some show of party government. And before long differences of policy made the quarrels of rivals for office look respectable. In 1716 Whig schism of 1717 and Stanhope's Ministry, 1717-20. George went to Hanover, and took Stanhope with him. In October they concluded a *Triple Alliance* with Holland and France. Townshend and Walpole denounced this as Hanoverian, resigned office, and joined George, Prince of Wales (who hated his father), in a furious opposition. In 1717 Stanhope became First Lord of the Treasury, with Sunderland and Joseph Addison (the famous essayist) as Secretaries of State, and John Aislabie as

Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1718 Addison retired and was succeeded by James Craggs, the younger, "a showy vapouring man," the son of James Craggs, Postmaster-General since 1715. Stanhope and Sunderland now exchanged their offices.

The policy of the new ministers, both at home and abroad, was more energetic than that of Townshend. In 1719 they repealed the *Act against Occasional Conformity* and the *Schism Act*, which still remained as memorials of the High Church ascendancy; but, fearful of offending the Church party, they refused to give more liberty to the Non-conformists, though Stanhope himself was willing to abolish the Test and Corporation Acts. But after 1727 an annual *Act of Indemnity*, relieving from all penalties those who had broken the law, gave the dissenters practical liberty, while avoiding an outcry. In 1719 the Government brought forward a *Peerage Bill*.

This provided that only six peerages beyond the existing number of peers should be created, except that a new peerage might be established when an old one became extinct; it also changed the sixteen Scotch elective peers into twenty-five hereditary peers named by the Crown.

The object of the Bill was to secure the independence of the existing peers, and to prevent their being swamped by lavish creations, such as those of the Tories under Queen Anne. It was therefore on the same lines as the Septennial Act, which aimed at giving greater freedom to the Commons. Its effect would have been to hand over the Government of England to a close ring of nobles and great landlords from which there would have been no escape but revolution. Fortunately the opposition of Walpole and the Tories ended in the bill being thrown out in the Commons, after it had easily passed the House of Lords.

9. The foreign policy of the Stanhope ministry was fixed by the *Triple Alliance*, to which it owed its origin. This was a union of England, Holland, and France to maintain the peace of Europe on the basis of the Treaty of Utrecht. Spain had got strength from the wise government of the Italian adventurer, Cardinal Alberoni, and was now bent upon winning back its old position in Europe. The personal rivalry of Philip V., King of Spain, and the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France for sickly little Louis XV., for the succession to the French throne had resulted in a coolness between the two kingdoms which Louis XIV. had hoped

The Triple
Alliance and
Alberoni,
1716-20.

to unite for ever. Alberoni, eager to upset the Treaty of Utrecht, and to restore the Spanish power in Italy, sought for allies in the old enemies, Sweden and Russia, both of which powers were coming to terms, and had interests in Germany clashing with those of Hanover. War soon broke out. A Spanish force rapidly conquered Sardinia and Sicily from the Emperor and the new King of Sicily, but the defeat of the Spanish fleet by Admiral Byng off *Cape Passaro* in Sicily (11th Aug. 1718) put an end to Alberoni's Italian plans. An attempt to get up a new Jacobite rising in Scotland was a complete failure. Up to now Austria had been quarrelling with the Dutch about the *Barrier Treaty* (by which the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands were garrisoned by Dutch troops), but she was frightened by the danger of her Italian possessions into joining the Triple Alliance, which thus became the *Quadruple Alliance*. In 1718 the death of Charles XII., the last great Swedish king, an ambitious, energetic, and fearless soldier, destroyed the power of Sweden in Europe, and broke up the northern combination against England. In 1719 Alberoni fell through a Court intrigue. Next year peace was restored. The chief result of the movement was that Sicily went to Austria in exchange for Sardinia. Henceforth the Duke of Savoy (King of Sicily since the Treaty of Utrecht) is called King of Sardinia.

10. The year 1720 was marked by a great wave of speculation and risky ventures in trade. Peace had restored public confidence, and people were looking out for good profits for the money they were willing to lay out. At London the South Sea scheme, and in Paris the Mississippi scheme, started by a scheming Scotchman named Law, were thought to be the quickest ways to get rich. The *South Sea Company* had been formed by Harley in 1711, and had been given all the rights of trade with Spanish America that were allowed to England by the Treaty of Utrecht. It had been very successful as a trading company, and its shares were much sought for. It now tried to widen its business by bribing the Government to give it the management of the *National Debt*, which had hitherto belonged to the Bank of England. Now the Government wanted to profit by the peace to lessen the rate of interest on the debt, as it could get money cheaper now that peace and the Protestant succession were safe. So it gladly took the seven and a half millions that the South Sea Company offered for this privilege. The way the

The South Sea
Bubble, 1720.

Company hoped to win its money back was by persuading everybody to exchange their Government funds for South Sea stock. The inducement held out was the wonderful profits to be won by the South Sea trade. The plan was successful. People got so eager to buy up South Sea stock that its price went up from £100 to £1000. Side by side with this grew up an extraordinary madness for speculation. A contemporary ballad thus describes the scramble for wealth in 'Change Alley (near St. Paul's) :—

" In London stands a famous pile,
And near that pile an alley,
Where merry crowds for riches toil,
And wisdom stoops to folly.
Here stars and garters do appear,
Among our lords the rabble,
To buy and sell, to see and hear
The Jews and Gentiles squabble.
Here crafty courtiers are too wise
For those who trust to fortune;
They see the cheat with clearer eyes
Who peep behind the curtain.
Our greatest ladies hither come
And ply in chariots daily,
Oft pawn their jewels for a sum
To venture 't in the alley.
The lucky rogues, like spaniel dogs,
Leap into South Sea water,
And there they fish for golden frogs
Not caring what comes after."

Cunning projectors now started silly bubble companies, such as companies for importing jackasses from Spain, for a wheel of perpetual motion, for making salt water fresh, and even "for an undertaking which should in due time be revealed." Foolish people were found to invest their money in the most foolish of them. But before long the reaction came. The South Sea Company was so afraid of the effect of these bubble companies on its own shares that it began to attack some of them as illegal. This was enough to show the folly of the whole thing. The bubble companies collapsed at once. The South Sea shares tumbled down from £1000 to £135, and those who bought them at the high price found their property shrunk up to one-eighth of its former amount. Many rogues had made money, and many honest but silly people had lost all they had. Great distress followed. The blame was thrown on the Government, and it was found out that many members of it had made large sums out of the public ruin. They were fiercely attacked.

Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was turned out of Parliament as guilty of "the most notorious, dangerous, and infamous corruption." Craggs, the Postmaster-General, committed suicide. His son, the Secretary, luckily died of the small-pox. Stanhope fell down in a fit in the House of Lords, and died the next day. Sunderland withdrew from office after being acquitted on the charges of corruption brought against him. The leaders of the schism of 1717 profited by the fall of their rivals. Already restored to office in 1720, Walpole became in 1721 First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Townshend, his brother-in-law, succeeded Stanhope as Secretary of State. The death of Sunderland in 1722 healed the last traces of the schism. Public credit was soon restored by Walpole's judicious measures. The directors of the South Sea Company were disgraced and ruined, to satisfy popular indignation. The state forgave nearly all the seven millions due to it from the Company, and this, along with the forfeited estates of the directors, enabled it to pay its debts. A long calm succeeded the storm.

11. In 1719 another attempt at a Jacobite rising in the Highlands was put down at Glenshiel. In 1722 a Jacobite plot failed, and led to the exile of its prime mover, Atterbury, the turbulent High Church Bishop of Rochester. In 1727 George I. died when on a visit to his ^{Death of} German dominions. He had married in 1682 ^{George I., 1727.} his cousin, Sophia Dorothea of Celle, but she had been divorced on a charge of unfaithfulness in 1694, and had been shut up in the Castle of Ahlden until her death in 1726. He was succeeded by his son, George, Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER IV.

George II. and Walpole, 1727-1748.

1. George II. was born in 1683, and unhappily remained a thorough German in his habits. He could however speak English fluently, and knew much more about ^{George II.,} English affairs than his father. Yet "he hated ^{1727-40.} the English," says the courtier Lord Hervey, "as all king-killers and republicans, and grudged them their liberty as

well as their wealth." He was prudent, careful, regular and punctilious. He said himself "that little things affected him more than great ones." He was vain and selfish, and "the fire of his temper appeared in every look and gesture." He was, however, straightforward and just, a good man of business and a brave soldier. He despised learning, and was very greedy of money. "I do not believe," says Hervey, "that there ever lived a man to whose temper benevolence was so absolutely a stranger." He was coarse and immoral in his private life, but his clever wife, Caroline of Anspach, always had more power over him than the Countess of Suffolk and his other favourites.

"You may strut, dapper George, but 'twill all be in vain,
We know 'tis Queen Caroline, not you that reign."

Caroline was a shrewd, honest, true-hearted woman, with plenty of common-sense, no romantic ideas, and some cultivation. She had a taste for theology and philosophy, and delighted to surround herself with learned and sensible men. She wisely kept Walpole in power, though George would have liked to have given his place to Sir Spencer Compton, an incompetent courtier.

2. The twenty years of Walpole's (after 1725 Sir Robert Walpole) ministry best show the strength and the weakness of the rule of the great Whig houses. Walpole's Ministry, 1721-42. held his mastery over his party by a singular mixture of practical wisdom, honesty, and corruption. He was no orator, though an apt and ready debater, with a complete understanding of the forms and the temper of the House, an extraordinary power of managing men, and a complete mastery of the arts of intrigue. He answered the denunciations of a factious opposition by retorting, "All these men have their price." He laughed at decorum, at honesty, at purity, and he did little to raise the tone of public life. He tried nothing heroic, but won his way by dint of tact and good sense. He brought the country gentry round from Jacobitism to support the new dynasty. He kept the merchants and tradesmen Whigs by his sound commercial and financial measures. He conciliated the Dissenters, though he avoided vexing the Church. He kept in touch with public opinion. "Let sleeping dogs lie" and *quieta non movere* were his favourite maxims. He shunned violent changes, and aimed at good administration, not brilliant legislation. Called to power to restore the national credit,

Walpole never failed as a financier. He started a *Sinking Fund* to save the Whigs from the reproach of the national debt, but soon made inroads upon it that he might please the squires by cutting down the land tax. He changed the malt tax into a tax on beer, and persevered despite formidable riots in Scotland (1724). But a different fate met his famous *Excise Scheme* (1733). This was a plan to turn the *customs duties*, first on tobacco and finally on wine, into an *excise duty*; that is, the tax was no longer to be levied at the ports but at the warehouse. Duties on importation were to be changed into duties on consumption, while the new system would prevent frauds in the revenue, enable Walpole to take off the land tax, and by establishing a system of bonded warehousing for re-exportation, "make London a free port and the market of the world." But the Excise was unpopular, partly because the first Excise had been brought into England during the Commonwealth from our old rivals the Dutch. The opposition cried out that Walpole's plan was but the clearing the way for a "general excise, a monstrous project, a plot to grind the country to powder, and establish a baleful tyranny." Walpole stood out for some weeks, but finally withdrew the measure.

In 1737 the mob of Edinburgh, excited by the execution of a gallant smuggler and the harshness of Porteous, the captain of the city guard, broke open the *Tolbooth* (the city prison) and solemnly hanged Porteous in the Grassmarket. The Government proposed to avenge the *Porteous Riots* by taking away the charter of Edinburgh, but Walpole prudently changed the plan when he found that even the Scotch members, who received a regular salary from him, were up in arms against it. The bill, though cut down "to a measure for making the fortune of an old cook-maid" (Porteous's widow), was only carried by a single vote.

3. Walpole honestly tried to do his best for his country, but "he thought" says Lord Hervey, "that he was to England what a spring was to a watch, and that the wheels would stand still if he were taken away." His strong love of power gradually disgusted his colleagues, who intrigued actively against him. As he got older, he grew so jealous that he drove away nearly every man of character and ability from his ministry. The brilliant but unsteady Carteret was removed in 1724 from his secretaryship of state, and transferred to the less important office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1725 Pulteney,

*Growth of the
Opposition to
Walpole.*

the orator, joined the opposition. In 1731 Carteret broke with Walpole altogether. Lord Chesterfield, the famous writer, a "stunted giant with exquisitely elegant manners," was turned out of his place in the Household. Walpole even quarrelled violently with his brother-in-law, Townshend. Those who stayed on with Walpole were either men of doubtful character, like Sir William Yonge, "a mean liar whose name was proverbially used to express everything pitiful, corrupt, and contemptible," or, like Henry Pelham and his brother, Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, of second-rate ability.

The displaced ministers, whose fierce charges of corruption gained for them the name of "Patriots," joined the "Boys," as Walpole called the young men he scorned to win over. Of these the most striking was William Pitt, whose lofty and impassioned eloquence and unswerving honesty had already won him a unique position. Meanwhile Bolingbroke, the greatest party manager of his day, had been allowed to return from exile in 1723, and had used his brilliant literary and social gifts to create a new Tory party, free from all taint of Jacobitism. Frederick, Prince of Wales, a shallow, worthless man, was on as bad terms with his father the king as George II. himself had been with George I., but with less cause. Round his court at Leicester

Leicester House
and the New
Toryism.

House the Opposition gathered, and Bolingbroke's celebrated pamphlet *On the Idea of a Patriot King* was written to suggest the benefits which would result from a really national monarch, putting himself at the head of his people to crush the noble faction that had domineered so long over king and people alike. Bolingbroke also wrote largely for the *Craftsman*, the ably conducted weekly organ of the opposition. James Thomson, the famous poet of nature, wrote his *Rule Britannia* as the popular song of the new national party. But, despite statesmen, pamphleteers, and poets, George faithfully stood by his trusty minister, though in 1737 the death of Queen Caroline lost him a strong and steady friend. But neither court support nor the arts of parliamentary management and corruption could keep the great minister much longer in power.

4. Walpole's foreign policy was on the same lines as his home government. His chief aim was to maintain the peace of Europe on the basis of the Utrecht settlement. At first he found his best support in France, where the crafty but peace-loving Cardinal Fleury was gradually

creeping into power. His chief danger always came from Spain, where the bold and ambitious Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, the second wife of Philip V, now ruled her weak husband, and strove to keep up the policy of Alberoni, and to win principalities for her own children in Italy. The Emperor Charles VI. was still angry with the Maritime Powers, and started in 1722 an Ostend East India Company, threatening their most lucrative trade. In 1725 the Spanish ambassador at Vienna was the Dutch adventurer Ripperda, "a projecting, speculating, enterprising, inconsiderate, hot-headed fellow, with great views rather than great parts." He now concluded the *First Treaty of Vienna*, by which Philip joined his old enemy the emperor in attempting to upset the treaty of Utrecht, to which both were from very different motives equally hostile. Ripperda then went back to Madrid and became Philip's foreign minister. In September England, France, Prussia, Holland, and some minor States united in the *Treaty of Hanover* to oppose Spain and Austria. Europe seemed on the verge of a general war; but Ripperda, like Alberoni, suddenly fell from power (1726). Walpole and Fleury both struggled for peace, and were still more anxious to do so when the far-seeing and eccentric Frederick William I. of Prussia, who had married George's sister, went over with his well-governed state, and large and carefully-trained army, to the side of the emperor. In 1727 Gibraltar was besieged in a half-hearted way by the Spaniards, and the English sent a fleet to blockade Portobello in South America. But preliminaries were quickly signed. In 1729 England and Spain made peace by the *Treaty of Seville*. In 1731 the *Second Treaty of Vienna* ended the troubles which the first treaty had begun. When, in 1733, the *War of the Polish Succession* broke out in Europe, Walpole steadily refused to take part in it, though France and Spain were now again united, and Elizabeth's Italian schemes at last triumphed, now that her son, Don Carlos, drove the Austrians from Naples, and established himself as king of that country. The war was therefore limited to two campaigns, and in 1735 preliminaries of peace were signed, though the Third or *Definitive Peace of Vienna* was not concluded until 7th November 1738. By it Don Carlos was recognised as King of Naples, and Austria compensated by Parma and Piacenza, which rounded off their former possession the Milanese; Duke Francis of Lorraine was made Duke of Tuscany (where the

Foreign policy
of Walpole,
1725-38.

house of Medici had died out), and Lorraine was given to Stanislas, the exiled king of Poland, who was Louis XV.'s father-in-law, for his lifetime, after which it was to go to France.

5. England's suspicions of Spain were now thoroughly roused. The alliance of the two Bourbon courts seemed to threaten the balance of Europe. Meanwhile the trade jealousies, which play so great a part in eighteenth century politics, grew. Spain complained of the English ships, which, despite the Treaty of Utrecht, carried on a large smuggling trade with the South American Colonies. English merchants complained of the harshness of the Spanish custom-houses, of the tyranny of the Spanish officials, and of the right of search claimed by them over all ships in South American waters. A merchant captain named Jenkins went about the country declaring that his ears had been cut off by the Spaniards, and showing them in a box wrapped up in cotton wool. This roused English feeling to fever heat. The Opposition attacked Walpole for his cowardly contempt of English interests. Very unwillingly Walpole gave in, and in 1739 war was declared against Spain. In 1739 Admiral Vernon, a noisy member of the opposition, won great applause by capturing Portobello with only six ships; but in 1741 the same leader, at the head of a vast force, failed hopelessly in his assault on Carthagena, the strongest fortress in Spanish South America. Yet Walpole's sluggish conduct of the war drew some fresh charges upon him. The death of the emperor, Charles VI., on 20th October 1740, made a general European war certain, and Walpole was further attacked for neglecting our treaty obligations and withholding support from the Austrians. At last, in 1741, a general election went decidedly against him. Early in 1742 he was beaten in Parliament over the Chippenham election petition, and forced to resign. His enemies would have impeached him, and a committee was appointed to inquire into his government. But he was still powerful enough to stop this. The king made him Earl of Orford, and his friends soon came back to power. But his own career was at an end. He had long suffered from ill-health. He died in 1745. With all his faults he had given England peace for twenty years.

6. The fall of Walpole was followed by no great change at home. The opposition was made up of men who agreed in nothing but their dislike of Walpole, and they could

The war with Spain, 1739, and the fall of Walpole, 1742.

not form a united ministry. The new ministers were of course Whigs. Lord Wilmington, "the most formal and solemn man in the world" (who, as Sir Spencer Compton, had, in 1727, almost turned out Walpole), became First Lord of the Treasury and nominal Prime Minister. But his incompetence left Carteret, now Secretary of State, at the practical head of affairs. Newcastle, Walpole's greatest ally, was still in office, and Henry Pelham was Paymaster. Pulteney withdrew from active work, and took the earldom of Bath and a seat in the Cabinet without office. Pitt and the other young and fiery spirits of the opposition, like the Tories, were left out in the cold. As a protest against Walpole's system, a *Place Bill* was passed to limit the number of offices which could be held by members of Parliament; but the system of government was hardly changed.

Carteret was a remarkable man. "Quite plain and simple in his manner, there was something both commanding and captivating, more in his countenance and his general manner than in anything he said." "He had a most comely and engaging person." Yet his irregular habits and want of practical wisdom prevented him from winning his proper place among English statesmen. He had read much and travelled far, and knew more about foreign affairs than anybody else in England. The king liked him because he could talk German with him, and thoroughly sympathised with his foreign policy. But Carteret despised Walpole's arts of management. "What is it to me," he said, "who is judge and who is bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." With such a disposition, and with thorough dislike of all business habits, he was soon to be thrust out of power by the Pelhams, who had inherited the dexterity but not the greatness of Walpole. But before his fall in 1744, Carteret (now become Earl Granville) had brought England into an active share in the European war.

7. Wilmington had died in July 1743, and was succeeded by the decorous and business-like Henry Pelham, who had learned from Walpole's mistakes that he must conciliate the whole of the opposition. So he formed a *Broad Bottom Administration*, which included nearly every section of the Whig party, and found room for more than one Tory. The king's personal dislike to Pitt kept him out of place until 1746, when, in the crisis

of the Jacobite revolt, George was compelled, by the resignation of his ministers and the failure of Granville to form a Cabinet, to admit Pitt to office. As Paymaster of the Forces, his eloquent mouth was stopped, while his presence made the ministry more popular. The bold but unscrupulous Henry Fox, Pitt's rival, became Secretary at War. The ministry held together as long as Pelham lived. The second great Whig schism was thus healed as completely as the first. A European war and a British rebellion left no time for factious disunion.

8. Having no sons, the great object of the late Emperor Charles VI. had been to obtain the acceptance of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which declared that the bundle of states that formed the Austrian dominions could never be broken up, and the right of his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed to the whole of them. Before his death, in October 1740, he had got the Pragmatic Sanction guaranteed by nearly every great European state; but to this end he had sacrificed nearly everything else, including the Ostend Company, which had once so much alarmed England and Holland. Yet his death was followed by a general attempt to break up the Austrian dominions. The daring and unscrupulous Frederick II. (the Great) of Prussia, who had just succeeded to the army, treasure, and well-ordered states of his father, Frederick William I., seized nearly the whole of Silesia, and, by his defeat of the Austrians at *Mollwitz* (1741), showed that another great general had arisen in Europe. Saxony and Bavaria invaded Bohemia and Austria. Spain threatened the Milanese. In France an ardent war party clamoured for Fleury's dismissal, and before long French auxiliaries appeared in the Bavarian army. The young and defenceless Maria Theresa, now Archduchess of Austria and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, could rely only on her Hungarian subjects.

England was already waging war with Spain at sea. Walpole disliked doing too much, and George was afraid of his nephew Frederick (whom he hated) attacking Hanover. But Walpole soon fell, and the break up of the Austrian power would have upset the European balance. England was bound by its pledges and its interest to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction. But it was more nearly interested in waging a commercial and naval war with Spain and France, and not too regardful of the interests of the Queen of Hungary. Great offence was given at Vienna by the strong pressure used by England to make Austria buy off the enmity of Prussia by yielding up Silesia, and win the friendship of Sardinia by the surrender of a large part of the Milanese. But Austria was so helpless that it had to give way, and in September 1743 the *Treaty of Worms* was signed, by which England, Holland, Austria, Saxony and Sardinia joined to carry out the Pragmatic Sanction.

The English had already taken the field, and on 27th June 1743 brave little King George defeated the French at *Dettingen* on the Main, a little below Aschaffenburg, a blow which led to their being driven out of Germany, and to the invasion of Bavaria, whose Elector had already been chosen Emperor as Charles VII.

in opposition to Francis, formerly of Lorraine, now of Tuscany, Maria Theresa's husband. Hitherto France and England had fought as auxiliaries of their respective allies. After Dettingen, open war was declared. Frederick of Prussia, fearful for Silesia if Austria became too successful, now renewed his alliance with France, and fought, in 1743 and 1744, the *Second Silesian War*; but failing to win any more Austrian land, he again yielded to English advice, and made the *Treaty of Dresden*, which fully secured his former conquest. This gave peace to Germany, where, on the death of Charles VII., Francis of Tuscany was elected Emperor. The reckless and barefaced attempt to break up the Austrian Empire had failed.

The French, under Marshal Saxe, now attacked the Austrian Netherlands. On 11th May 1745, they won a hard-fought victory at *Fontenoy*, near Tournay, over the allies commanded by William, Duke of Cumberland, the king's second son, where the long-victorious English column was finally driven back by the headlong charge of the Irish Brigade in the French service. The gradual conquest of the Netherlands by the French followed from this and subsequent victories, and was made the easier by the withdrawal of the English troops to meet danger at home.

9. England and France having broken the long peace, Jacobitism again became important. The incompetence of the old Pretender had damped all zeal for his cause, but his son, Charles Edward, was now twenty-five years old, and might well rouse warmer feelings. "The young man," says an eyewitness, "is about the middle height, and rather thin; his face is rather long, the complexion clear, but borders on paleness; the forehead very broad, the eyes fairly large, blue, but without sparkle; the mouth large, with the lips slightly curled, and the chin more sharp than rounded." France now again took up the Stewart cause, and invited the young Chevalier to Paris. In 1744 he left Rome "in search of three crowns to lay at his father's feet." But the great fleet which, in 1744, set forth from Dunkirk to invade England was almost destroyed by a terrible storm. Busy with the Netherlandish and Italian campaigns, the French ministry had neither time nor money to waste on Charles Edward. Profoundly vexed at this lukewarmness, he vowed that he would raise his standard in Scotland "if he only took a single footman with him." He scraped together what money he could, and sailed with two ships for the Highlands. Neither his father nor the French Government knew what he was doing. The consort that contained his stores was disabled by an English cruiser. His vessel, the *Doutelle*, managed to escape, and on 25th July 1745 Charles landed in Lochnanuagh in Inverness-shire, near Moidart. The Highland chiefs of the district were aghast at his rashness, and advised him to go

The Jacobite
Revolt of
1745 and 1746.

back to France; but the Macdonalds and the Camerons soon caught his enthusiasm. The capture of two companies of regulars sent out from Fort Augustus decided the question; and on 19th August the Marquis of Tullibardine, who for his treason in 1715 had forfeited the duchy of Atholl to his younger brother, raised the standard of the Stewarts in wild and desolate Glenfinnan. Murray of Broughton hurried up from the south, and became Charles's Secretary of State. The clans now assembled in large numbers, and General Cope, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, afraid to defend the pass of Corry Arrack, retreated northwards to Inverness. This left the way to the Lowlands open; and on 4th September Charles Edward marched in triumph into Perth, where he was joined by James Drummond, called by his neighbours, despite his father's attainder, Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray, another brother of the Duke of Atholl. The latter proved the ablest officer on the side of the rebels, but quarrelled fiercely with Perth and Murray of Broughton.

The campaign was conducted with more spirit than that of 1715. Anxious to get before Cope, who was making ready to return south by sea, Charles left Perth on 11th September. On Sunday, 15th September, the Edinburgh militiamen were hurried out of kirk to join Colonel Gardiner's dragoons gathered at Corstorphine to defend the capital; but the citizens shirked fighting, and a disgraceful panic seized the regulars. The *Canter of Coltbrig* was followed by the surrender of Edinburgh, and, though the Castle held out, Charles took up his quarters in Holyrood, and James VIII. was proclaimed at the Market Cross amidst the rejoicings of the people, who were Jacobite because they hated the Union even more than the Highlanders and Papists. "Johnnie Cope" now landed at Dunbar, and joined Gardiner, but, on

21st September, was disgracefully beaten at *Prestonpans*. "It was one of the most surprising actions that ever was," wrote Charles to his father in his bad spelling and loose grammar. "We gained a complete victory over Cope, who had 3000 foot and two regiments of the best dragoons in the island, he being advantageously posted, with also batteries of cannon and mortars, we having neither horse or artillery with us, and being to attack them in their post, and obliged to pass before their noses in a defile and bog. Only our first line had occasion to engage; for actually, in five minutes, the field was cleared of the enemies; all the foot killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and of the horse only 200 escaped, like rabbits, one by one. On our side we only lost a hundred men, and the army afterwards had a fine plunder."

"All Jacobites," says Duncan Forbes, "now went mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; all bankrupts became heroes; and all the fine ladies became passionately fond of the young adventurer." Master of Scotland, Charles burnt to pass on into England, and having at last overcome the unwillingness of his council, he besieged and cap-

tured Carlisle, and on 20th November marched from that place southwards. But the game was hopeless. "Advise all your friends to buy stocks," was the confident advice of the Hanoverian general. Even the Lancashire squires had now become quite careless of the Stewarts. At Manchester only was any zeal shown, but the Lancashire regiment there formed under Colonel Townley hardly numbered 200 men. Overwhelming forces gathered on every side round the doomed army. Wade had one army at Newcastle; Cumberland a second in the Midlands; a third was gathered at Finchley to defend London. The Highlanders marched as far south as Derby, but there Charles was, perhaps wrongly, forced by his leading councillors to turn back on 6th December. During his absence the Hanoverians had won back much of southern Scotland. In January 1746 Charles besieged Stirling, and General Hawley, who had superseded Wade, marched from Edinburgh to raise the siege. On 17th January the Highlanders, who had anticipated attack by a fresh advance, severely checked Hawley at *Falkirk*. "The battle was misconducted," wrote an officer; "the Irish dragoons fled outright: it would have been a total defeat but for General Huske," the second in command. Cumberland was now sent down as commander-in-chief. Charles retired northwards. His quarrelsome army dwindled rapidly away, and suffered severely from cold and want. At last, on 16th April, the Highlanders stood at bay on *Culloden Moor*, near Inverness. The English officers had found out how to meet the Highland rush; fixing bayonets, the regulars took their fire, and reserved their own till their foes were close upon them, when, with a well-aimed volley, they mowed down the first line, and checked the onslaught which straggled harmlessly up to their own well-kept ranks, and was broken helplessly upon their bayonets. "The Highlanders," wrote Cumberland, "came three times within a hundred yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords. Their right somewhat outflanked our left, but we soon repulsed them. I dare say there was not a man of our two regiments there who did not kill one or two men with their bayonets and spontoons, and so that in their rage the enemy threw stones at them for a minute or two before the final rout began. We gave quarter to none, and the rebels lost two thousand men."

After many romantic adventures Charles escaped to France, whence he was expelled after the peace. But he became a confirmed drunkard, and soon lost all importance. Tired of his behaviour, his wife, Louisa of Stolberg, left him for the great Italian poet Alfieri. After James's death, in 1766, he called himself King of England. He died in 1788; his brother, Henry, the "Cardinal of York" (*d.* 1807), who took the title of Henry IX., became a pensioner of his kinsman George III.

Cumberland and his lieutenant, Hawley, put the remnants of the revolt down very cruelly. Numbers of prisoners were hanged at Carlisle and elsewhere. Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, Colonel Townley, and eight others were tried and executed in London. More lasting measures for ending the old Highland anarchy followed. The *hereditary jurisdictions* were abolished, and the reign of Scots law extended to the wildest recesses of

the north. Great efforts were made to root out the reverence for the clan chieftains. A disarming Act was sternly carried out. It was made a crime to wear the Highland kilt and clan tartan. Schools were established to extend a knowledge of English. The Jacobite Episcopal clergy were put under crushing disabilities. Good hard roads were made through the Highlands. The easy-going Celtic chief, bound by custom to treat his tenants fairly, gave way to the Lowland landlord, zealous for progress and improvement, anxious for a good interest out of his estate, and sometimes straining the law in his own favour. The loyal and satisfied clansman became the distressed and discontented *crofter*, little better off than the Irish cottier. The more daring spirits were drafted off into the Highland régiments raised with Pitt's goodwill. Later on whole glens were stripped of their inhabitants, who were sent off to Canada to make room for sheep. The spirit of gloomy theological bitterness invaded the remotest valleys. The Highlands had become peaceful, but some of the noblest and most characteristic features of Highland life had been blotted out.

10. Though both sides had failed, and were now fighting for very little, the continental war still went on. After conquering nearly all the Austrian Netherlands, the French threatened the United Provinces in 1747. But a popular revolution, as in 1672, restored William IV., Prince of Orange, George's hunchbacked son-in-law, as stadtholder. The Dutch then checked the French advance. Russia, ruled since 1741 by Elizabeth, a true daughter of Peter the Great, and anxious to make her influence felt as a great power, also threatened to help Austria, so the French were willing to negotiate. In October 1748 the *Peace of Aachen* (Aix-la-Chapelle) ended the war.

The chief terms were: (1) England and France mutually restored all conquests; (2) Don Philip, brother of Don Carlos, was made Duke of Parma at the expense of Austria; (3) Sardinia got the slice of the Milanese ceded in 1743; (4) Prussia kept Silesia; (5) with these exceptions, the Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed; (6) the Protestant Succession in England was guaranteed, and the Pretender expelled from France.

11. During this war Captain George Anson made his famous voyage round the world, inflicting great damage on the Spaniards, and winning an enormous booty. He sailed, in September 1740, in the *Centurion*, with five other ships, for the Pacific, but suffered so terribly from scurvy rounding Cape Horn that his 900 men were reduced to 300, who were barely enough to man the *Centurion*. He had only 200 men when he captured, in 1743, the great yearly galleon from Manila to Acapulco. He then sailed home by the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in Spithead in June 1744.

CHAPTER V.

George II., Wesley, and Pitt, 1739-1760.

1. The country grew richer during the years of peace that succeeded the Treaty of Aachen. The peace-loving, plodding Henry Pelham carried out his modest but useful plans of reform, and carefully avoided stirring up opposition. The interest payable on the national debt was reduced to three per cent. Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, a famous lawyer, passed a *Marriage Act* to check secret marriages (1753), and a system of licensing public-houses counteracted the evils which the wide prevalence of spirit drinking, a new fashion brought in from Holland, had produced. But the sluggishness of Pelham's government, as opposed as Walpole's to all great changes, was reflected in the deadness of the nation to higher things. Men believed that religion, enthusiasm, patriotism were dying and rightly giving way to reason, solid good sense, and general love of mankind. In particular, the old religious hatreds that had raged so fiercely when Anne was on the throne had largely yielded to the easy common-sense tolerance of the new generation. The High Church and the Puritan parties equally lost ground. The bishops were now mostly Low Churchmen, or Latitudinarians, or, as we should call them, Broad Churchmen. The country clergy remained High Church, and quarrelled so fiercely with the bishops in Convocation that, after 1717, it was not allowed to meet again to transact business. Laymen became careless and sceptical. Preachers taught that men should be prudent, moral, and moderate. Their sermons were "solid but dry dissertations, read without a gesture and without any particular elevation of the voice." A school, which disbelieved in miracles and revelation, grew up, headed by Collins and Tindal, called the *English Deists*, against whom Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, wrote his famous *Analogy of Religion* (1736). Leading clergymen were anxious to escape signing the Articles and repeating the Creeds. English Presbyterians were becoming Unitarians. Church-going ceased to be fashionable, and few new churches were built. Side by side with learning and dull good sense, among the educated classes, there was much gross neglect of duty and corrup-

State of
Religion.
Latitudina-
rianism and
Rationalism.

tion, while among the masses brutality, ignorance, drunkenness, and vice were hardly kept in check.

2. The most emotional and enthusiastic of modern forms of Protestant religion sprang up in strong reaction to the general temper of this period. About 1729, a few earnest Oxford men formed a little society which

**The Methodist
Movement,
1729-39.**

met to discuss religious questions, and whose members were remarkable for the holiness and good order of their lives. They fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, received the Communion once a week, and ministered to the sick, the poor, and the prisoners in Oxford gaol. They were laughed at by their fellow-students, and nicknamed *Methodists*. Their leader was *John Wesley* (1703-1791), fellow of Lincoln College, a man of extraordinary force of character, who had learnt from the *Serious Call* of the holy Nonjuror, William Law, a lofty and fervent piety. His brother, *Charles Wesley*, afterwards famous as a hymn-writer, also joined the movement. They were both High Churchmen, like their father Samuel, rector of Epworth, Lincolnshire. Others of the little group were *George Whitefield* (1714-1770), servitor of Pembroke College, the son of a Gloucester innkeeper, who soon gained extraordinary influence by his vivid and heart-stirring sermons, and *James Hervey*, author of the *Meditations*. They continued their meetings until 1735, when the Wesleys left Oxford, and went on a mission to the colony of Georgia, just established by the warm-hearted General Oglethorpe as a refuge for debtors. But in 1738 Wesley returned to England, after altogether failing in his work in America. He was strangely despondent when he learnt from the *Moravians* (a German sect of gentle enthusiasts) that he had not yet been converted to a true sense of religion. At last, in a little room in Aldersgate Street, during a meeting of the society, "about a quarter past nine," says Wesley, "I felt my heart strangely warmed, I felt I trusted in Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance that He had taken away my sins." Inspired with this belief, Wesley and his friends preached with a stronger fervour and an unwonted zeal. The congregations groaned or wept, swayed by intense feeling, or they broke up the services by violence and riot. The sober and decorous clergy thought the Methodists mad, and refused to let them preach in their churches. In 1739, therefore, the Methodists first built chapels of their own, though they declared that they were not dissenters, but anxious only to labour in the

ground left untilled by the Church. In the same year Whitefield began to preach in the fields to the half-savage colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol. Tears ran down the blackened cheeks of his rude hearers as he spoke with intense pathos of death, sin, repentance, and the wrath to come. Wesley, who had "thought the saving of souls almost a sin if it had not been done in a church," was driven into following Whitefield's example. For the rest of their lives the two great preachers wandered ceaselessly over the land; wherever they went they excited a storm of opposition or of enthusiasm. Often they were in danger of their lives, hooted at, pelted, maltreated by brutal mobs, and left to protect themselves by weak and bigoted magistrates. They were denounced as Papists, as hypocrites, as impostors. The wild excitement following from their preaching often produced the maddest extravagances. But they roused many thousands to lead new lives, and to shake off sluggish indifference or brutal vice. They stamped a profound impression upon English character which has not yet been effaced.

Whitefield was an eloquent enthusiast who appealed chiefly to the emotion of the moment, but Wesley was a man of forethought and a remarkable organiser. He saw that to make the effects of his preaching last, he must establish an organised society. The Methodist body, over which he exercised a dictatorship, soon grew into a large and well-governed community, which, as time went on, gradually drifted into the position of a new dissenting sect. To the last Wesley professed his attachment to the Church of England; but by ordaining his lay-preachers, and empowering them to administer the Holy Communion, he established a precedent which, after his death, resulted in total separation. But long before this the Methodist camp had begun to be broken up. Whitefield was a Calvinist, like the old Puritans, while Wesley's High Church surroundings had made him a strong *Arminian*, who believed that God's grace was open to all mankind. They accordingly parted company, and Whitefield attached himself to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, a pious lady, whose chaplains stood half-way between conformity and dissent. But the great preacher's lack of the statesmanlike gifts of Wesley caused "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion," as the English Calvinistic Methodists were called, to gradually dwindle away.

Only in Wales did Calvinistic Methodism take deep root.

*Arminian and
Calvinistic
Methodism,
1739-91.*

There a parallel movement had been going on—started early in the century by Griffith Jones, Rector of Llanddowror, in Carmarthenshire, who invented a system of circulating schools, and carried on by Daniel Rowlands, vicar of Llangeitho, in Cardiganshire, and Howel Harris of Trevecca, near Brecon, in whose house Lady Huntingdon established a college for her preachers. Greater corruption in the ignorant and isolated clergy, and the extraordinary fervour and eloquence of the simple men who preached to the people in their own tongue, resulted in a movement of lasting importance. But it was not until 1811 that, under the guidance of *Thomas Charles* of Bala, the Welsh Methodists gave up their regular connection with the Established Church.

In Scotland and Ireland religious conditions were too different for the movement to exercise much influence. But in British America it spread like wildfire, and to-day the Methodists are the most numerous body of American Protestants.

3. While Wesley's self-devotion and noble zeal were reviving religious enthusiasm in the face of torpor and vice, William Pitt, with eloquence even greater, and with devotion as unselfish, was striving to restore high ideals and noble ambitions among the governing classes soiled by the corruption of Walpole, and guided only by the timid expediency of the Pelhams. The grandson of a governor of Madras, Pitt abandoned the army for a seat in Parliament, as representative of the deserted hill of Old Sarum. His thunders against Walpole first brought him into notice. "His person was tall and imposing, with the eye of a hawk, a little head, thin face, long aquiline nose, and perfectly erect posture; his action was most expressive; his invectives were uttered with such energy and stern dignity of action and countenance that he intimidated all able to encounter him." Like Whitefield, he was a consummate actor, while his "manners prohibited all familiarity, and almost seemed to forbid approach." Gold could not tempt him, and he was loftily conscious of his rare power and his high mission. Poor, without great connections, he looked to the mass of the people of England rather than to the crowd of venal place-hunters that he addressed in the House. His marriage with Lady Hester Grenville, sister of Lord Temple, brought him into touch with a noble Whig family, but it lost him more than he gained. When he had

driven Walpole from power, he thundered with equal vehemence against the Hanoverian and unpopular policy of Carteret. At last Henry Pelham silenced him by office in 1746; but on the Prime Minister's death, in 1754, Pitt stood forth again in his solitary grandeur as the one popular hero among the statesmen of the day.

4. The Duke of Newcastle stepped into his brother's place. Horace Walpole, the great statesman's younger son, thus describes him: "A borrowed importance and a real insignificance gave him the perpetual air of a solicitor. He had no pride, though unfailing self-love. He loved business immoderately; yet was always doing it, and never did it. When left to himself he always plunged into difficulties, and then shuddered for the consequences." This fussy busybody almost wrecked his ministry by giving the leadership of the House of Commons to Sir Thomas Robinson, a man as insignificant as himself. He was compelled to replace him by the able and eloquent, but unscrupulous and unpopular, Henry Fox, an old rival of Pitt. But as there was a likelihood of war, all Newcastle's electioneering craft and parliamentary management could not compensate for the loss of confidence and popularity that followed Pitt's dismissal. In November 1756 Newcastle resigned; but Pitt and the Duke of Devonshire, who now became ministers, found that without Newcastle's command over votes they were unable to carry on the government. At last the good sense of Lord Chesterfield healed the third Whig schism. In June 1757 a coalition was brought about by which Newcastle and Pitt became sharers of power. Newcastle became First Lord of the Treasury, and Pitt Secretary of State. The gallant Anson took charge of the Admiralty.

Whig schism
after Pelham's
death, 1754-57.

Newcastle
Ministry,
1754-56.

Devonshire
Ministry,
1756-57.

The Pitt-
Newcastle
Ministry,
1757-61.

The Duke confined himself to his natural sphere of intrigue and corruption, and to the peddling details of administration in which he delighted. Scornfully regardless of such sordid cares, the great Commoner threw his whole soul into the conduct of the war, which had broken out disastrously for England, while factions were raging in Parliament, and feeble governments struggling in vain for power.

5. Ever since the Revolution England had been growing richer through foreign trade, and her colonies and possessions were steadily rising in importance. Her old rival, Holland, had given up competing against her, and had be-

come her ally; while Portugal, the earliest European colonial power, had, since the *Methuen Treaty* (1703), become her dependant. But Spain and France watched the expansion of England with great jealousy, and even Austria was thoroughly disgusted at the selfish way in which the trade of the Netherlands had been sacrificed to English interests. The naval war with Spain in 1739 (since 1743 with France also), began a long struggle for the possession of India and America, which continued without a break till 1763; and whether peace or war prevailed at home, continued hostilities marked the fierce struggle of France and England for the possession of India and the New World.

6. The great Mogul Empire, which had ruled northern and controlled southern India, broke up after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. India was plunged into extreme confusion. The *Nāwabs* or viceroys of the Emperor of Delhi

France and
England in
India.

now became, like the counts and dukes of the Roman Empire in the middle ages, independent and hereditary princes. The Hindus had long submitted to the rule of the foreign Mohammedan Moguls, but the successes of the warlike Maráthás now marked a great Hindu revival. The companies of foreign merchants, who had long been rulers of trading settlements, now won for themselves political independence. After 1702 the Whig *New East India Company* joined the Tory *Old East India Company* to form the *United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*. The restoration of the monopoly led to a great increase of their trade, and their stations of Bombay, Fort St. George (Madras), and Fort William (Calcutta) became the centres of a great and rich commerce. They found a keen competitor in the French India Company, whose chief seats were at Pondicherri, near Madras, and in the isles of Bourbon and France (Mauritius). But François Joseph Dupleix, the brilliant and far-seeing Governor of Pondicherri (since 1741), was the first European to perceive that, in the anarchy springing from the break up of the Mogul Empire, Europeans might hope for political rule as well as riches. He took advantage of the Austrian Succession war to capture Madras in 1746, and this conquest, though given back by the peace of 1748, spread the fame of France throughout southern India. A more dangerous form of rivalry followed during the years of peace, which were not years of peace in India. Dupleix saw that by setting one native state or one

Dupleix,
1741-1764.

rival prince against the other, he might take a leading part in Indian affairs; while by drilling Indian troops (Sepoys) in the European way, he might make them as good as European soldiers, and easily defeat the huge but untrained hosts of the native princes, and with Indian arms and Indian gold make the vast continent subject to a small and distant European state. For India is a continent, not a nation. Its inhabitants are of many grades of civilisation, many religions, races, and tongues. No cohesion or unity was possible in such a vast mass of different elements. Here Dupleix's plans were as practicable as they were brilliant.

7. The second and greatest struggle between England and France for India began when the nations were at peace. Just after the treaty of Aachen, Dupleix took up the cause of Murzaffar Jang, who disputed with Nasir Jang, his uncle, the succession as subahdár (viceroy) of the Deccan, and supported Chanda Sahib against Anwár-ud-dín Khán in his claim to the nawábship of the Karnátik. The English took up the other pretender's cause. A worthy rival of Dupleix was found in *Robert Clive*, the son of a poor Shropshire squire, who had been sent out to be a clerk at Madras, as his turbulent and unruly disposition unfitted him for most careers at home. He became a soldier when Dupleix attacked Madras, and was now a captain. In 1751 he suggested that the only way to save Trichinopoli, closely besieged by Chanda Sahib, was to seize Arcot, the capital of the Karnátik. He was intrusted with the task. The last march of his little force to Arcot was through a tropical thunderstorm. The garrison fled in a panic, but the whole forces of the Nawáb and the French were now directed to reconquer it. Clive held out with firm determination. He filled his troops with such enthusiasm that when supplies ran short the Sepoys proposed to live on the water in which the rice was boiled, and leave the grain for the greater need of their English comrades. At last Clive compelled the enemy to raise the siege. This filled Southern India with profound belief in the bravery and resources of the English. "The defence of Arcot was the turning-point in the eastern career of the English." Clive followed up his victory by the destruction of Dupleix Fatihábád (city of the victory of Dupleix), and by the capture of Trichinopoli. Dupleix's schemes were defeated. He returned to France (1754), to obscurity and disgrace, disgusted that the French Government had not realised the grandeur and practicability of his schemes.

Robert Clive,
1725-74.

Arcot, 1751.

Meanwhile Siráj-ud-Daulá (Surajah Dowlah), Nawáb of Bengal—an ally of the French—had quarrelled with the factory at Fort William. After seizing the town, he shut up the English prisoners in what was afterwards known as the "Black Hole," a small and pestilential chamber, where, out of 146, all but 23 died of suffocation during the single night of their confinement. Clive was sent to avenge the outrage, and easily won back Calcutta. He sought to divide the Nawáb's forces by persuading Mir Jafar, his general, to lay claim to Bengal; and on 23d June 1757 his little army

Plassey, 1757.

of 3000 men utterly routed the 55,000 men that followed Siraj-ud-Daula, attacking their camp suddenly as they were cooking their dinner, and scattering them in a panic with little loss. The battle of Plassey made the English masters of Bengal, where Mir Jafar now reigned under their protection. Pitt, who saw Clive's greatness, declared that he was a "heaven-born general."

When open war broke out between England and France, the gallant and unfortunate Count de Lally sought to revive Dupleix's great schemes. But in January 1760 the decisive victory of Wandewash

secured the supremacy of England in Southern India. The English commander, Colonel (afterwards Sir) Eyre

Coote, completed the destruction of the French by the capture of Pondicherry in 1761. The foundations of our Indian Empire were now firmly laid. Clive and Coote had beaten Dupleix and Lally in the policy which the Frenchmen had first conceived, but which the Englishmen were better able to carry out.

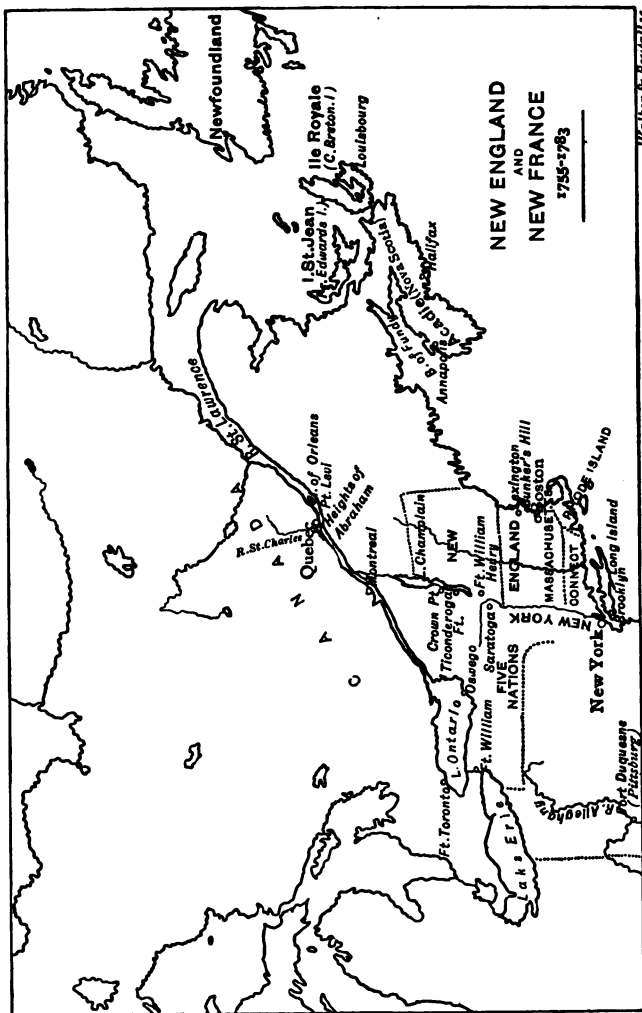
8. While Clive and Coote were conquering India, a similar struggle between England and France was being fought out in North America. The English colonies, thirteen in number, were grouped along the eastern seaboard. In the north were the *New England* colonies, the settlements of seventeenth century Puritanism, and now free democra-

cies, with, in some cases, even the privilege of electing their own governor. These were *Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island*. South of them were *New York and New Jersey*, which in 1667 had been conquered from the Dutch. The coast beyond was included in *Delaware* (cut off from Pennsylvania in 1701) and *Maryland* (1632), while the great quaker colony of *Pennsylvania* (1681) extended far into the interior. Pennsylvania was still a *Proprietary Colony*, and the "proprietors," the sons of William Penn, the founder, were overlords of the whole country, nominated the governor, and were constantly quarrelling with the Assembly. *Virginia*, the great tobacco-planting state, founded in 1607, came next. With its planter aristocracy, sprung from good English families, its population of slaves, and its Church of England religion, it stood in the strongest contrast to New England, whose inhabitants were yeomen farmers and small traders, with few inequalities of wealth or rank. It was, however, the most advanced of the colonies, and took the lead in all colonial movements. *North and South Carolina* (1663) lay south of Virginia, while *Georgia* (1731) separated South Carolina from the Spanish colony of Florida. Georgia had been founded by the philanthropic Oglethorpe as a refuge for debtors, and had been the place of the first labours of John Wesley. The colonies

were now very flourishing, and fast increasing in population; but they were very jealous of each other, were discouraged from acting together, and had no common ideas save fear of the French and their Indian allies, and jealousy of English influence.

9. The French colonies enclosed the English on every side. Along the valley of the St. Lawrence lay *Canada*, the most important of them, while in the Gulf of St. Lawrence lay the islands of *St. John* (Prince Edward's Island) and *Cape Breton*, containing England and
France in
North America. *Louisbourg*, a great fortress. *Acadie*, now called Nova Scotia, had been ceded to the English in 1713, along with the whole of the great cod-fishing island of Newfoundland. In 1749 Halifax, its future capital, had been founded by the English Government, almost the only English settlement established purely by the state. But the English and French were still quarrelling about the boundaries of the ceded country, especially whether the coasts of the Bay of Fundy were or were not given up to England. There was another French settlement called *Louisiana*, of which New Orleans, named after the Regent Philip, was the capital. It stretched up the Mississippi valley, and threatened to shut the English out from access to the west. The French colonies were thinly inhabited, and badly governed; but the fur dealers and Indian traders were hardy, energetic, and daring; and, as in the East, the governors planned great schemes for extending the power of France. The French now took nearly all the Red Indians into their pay, drove the English traders over the Alleghanies, and set up a series of forts which aimed at connecting Louisiana and Canada. Forts Frontenac and Toronto commanded Lake Ontario; Fort Niagara the passage to the south between the two great lakes; while Fort Duquesne, on the Alleghany river, was the key to the upper valley of the Ohio.

A brisk frontier war now broke out, in which the Indians in the French pay committed all sorts of atrocities. In 1754, Major George Washington, of the Virginian Militia, scarcely twenty-two years of age, but already able to control his vehement and fiery nature by his coolness of judgment and sense of public duty, was compelled to capitulate after an unsuccessful attack on Fort Duquesne. Both England and France now sent troops to America. But in 1755, General Braddock, a brave but blundering guardsman, at the head of 1500 men, was disgracefully defeated and slain in an expedition against the same stronghold. The English now turned the wretched Acadians out of Nova Scotia; and in 1756, after war had been formally declared, the English colonies were forced by their fears from their sluggish



attitude of indifference. When once the real struggle began, the overwhelming superiority in numbers of the English soon made itself felt. The ardent and generous Marquis of Montcalm succeeded, in 1756, in taking Oswego, the English fort on Lake Ontario, and, in 1757, Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake St. George. These were the last important French successes.

10. The struggle for India and America was soon overshadowed by the outbreak of a great European war. A formidable coalition was formed, which, though The attack on Prussia, 1756. mostly turned against Prussia, was also partly aimed at England. After the treaty of 1748, European affairs took a new turn. Austria was so disgusted with England and Holland for making her give up Silesia and a large part of the Milanese, and for their old policy of putting down the trade of the Netherlands, that, by a bold stroke of Kaunitz, her minister, Maria Theresa established a close alliance with the French, hoping thus to ruin Prussia, or at least get back Silesia. Russia, under the Empress Elizabeth, joined them. Sweden followed her example. The weak and *dilettante* Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who was also King of Poland, was, with many of the smaller states of Germany, also won over. Prussia was thus forced to struggle for its very existence; but Frederick the Great showed wonderful coolness, presence of mind, and energy in the face of danger. The old jealousies with his uncle George now seemed to vanish. In great alarm England made, in 1756, a treaty with Prussia. Frederick anticipated attack by overrunning the territory of his least formidable enemy, Saxony, and compelled the Saxon army to surrender at *Pirna* (15th October 1756), after the Austrians had been defeated in an attempt to relieve it at the *battle of Lobositz* (1st October). This was the beginning of what is properly called the *Seven Years' War*.

11. England was quite unready to fight. "From every side came tidings of disaster." Our allies, the Dutch, would not depart from their neutrality. Frederick, assailed on all hands, was in a desperate state. Minorca, which had been English since 1708, was attacked by the Duke of Richelieu. English disasters, 1757. Admiral Byng, sent out with a fleet for its defence, withdrew without fighting a battle, and the castle of St. Philip surrendered. Byng was made a scapegoat for the national fury, and tried and shot for cowardice (14th March 1757). Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland, now grown unwieldy and inactive, was, in July 1757, completely beaten by the French at *Hastenbeck*, and driven back on to the Elbe. In September he was forced to sign the *Capitulation of Kloster Zeven*, by which Hanover was entirely left in French hands, and the army of the Duke partly disbanded. The French were thus left free to attack

Prussia. England daily expected an invasion. French cruisers plundered her commerce: expeditions against Louisbourg and Rochefort failed. "The nation trembled under a shameful panic too public to be concealed, too shameful in its consequences to be ever long forgotten."

12. Such was the state of things when Pitt, in June 1757, became minister. "I am sure," said he, "that I can save **Pitt's victories, 1757-60.** the country, and I am sure that no one else can." He at once set to work with extraordinary energy to restore the flagging spirits of his countrymen. "Ignorant of finance, he kept aloof from all details, drew magnificent plans, and left to others to find the magnificent means. Secluded from all eyes, his orders were received as oracles. Their success was imputed to his inspiration—misfortunes and miscarriages fell to the account of the more human agents." Such is an enemy's account of his success.

Under Pitt's guidance the war, which had begun with such disasters, soon turned out the most brilliant and successful of the century. He often wasted money and men on useless expeditions; but he saw clearly that his first duty was to maintain Frederick in his heroic struggle, and to secure English supremacy all over the world. He threw to the winds his old hatred of foreign subsidies and German alliances. His large subsidies enabled Frederick to keep an army together. "America must be conquered in Germany" was Pitt's answer to those who grew impatient at the vast expenses of his German campaigns. The capitulation of Kloster Zeven was repudiated. The crushing defeat of the French at *Rosbach* (5th November 1757), and of the Austrians at *Leuthen* (5th December 1757), showed that Frederick was able to struggle with success against his three mighty foes. Though in 1758 and 1759 the King of Prussia was brought to sore straits, the well-directed attacks of the English and Hanoverians kept the French busy on the Rhine, and left Frederick to struggle against the Austrians, Russians, and Swedes. On 1st August 1759 a great victory at *Minden* was won by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick at the head of the English troops. On 3d November 1760 Frederick defeated the Austrians in the bloody battle of *Torgau*.

The greatest victories of England were at sea and outside Europe. We have seen how Clive won Bengal, and Coote destroyed the French power in Southern India. In September 1759 Hawke put an end to all fears of invasion by his crushing defeat of the French in *Quiberon Bay*. All over the world the French colonies were now conquered. But Pitt's crowning triumph was the annihilation of French influence in North America.

13. In 1758 Pitt formed a great plan for attacking Canada from three different sides, and sent some of the best of his young officers to carry it out. **Conquest of Canada, 1758-60.** Jeffrey Amherst conquered and destroyed the great fortress of Louisbourg. With him was Brigadier James Wolfe, a man after Pitt's own heart, who, with wretched health and mean appearance, had the heart

of a hero, and whose dearest ambition was to "cut up New France by the roots." Another favourite of Pitt was the young, popular, and brilliant Lord Howe, "a complete model of military virtue," who was destined to accompany the incompetent leader Abercromby to attack Ticonderoga. But with his death "the soul of the expedition seemed to expire," and the English and Colonial forces were completely defeated by Montcalm. Yet before the year was out the French lost Fort Frontenac, and abandoned Fort Duquesne, which the colonists renamed Pittsburg, in honour of the great minister. In 1759 the French were assailed on every side. Wolfe was put at the head of an army of nearly 9000 men that sailed safely up the difficult navigation of the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec, where Montcalm had gathered nearly every able-bodied Canadian for its defence. But for a long time the two armies faced each other without coming to a serious encounter. "Montcalm," wrote Wolfe, "is at the head of a great number of bad soldiers, and I am at the head of a small number of good ones, that wish for nothing so much as to fight him; but the wary old fellow avoids an action, doubtful of the behaviour of his army." After failing to attack Montcalm's camp on the north of the river below the town, Wolfe resolved to pass higher up the river and attack Quebec on a side thought impregnable. In the dead of night 4000 English troops were brought in row-boats to the foot of the steep cliffs that overhang the north bank of the St. Lawrence. They scaled these as best they could, swinging themselves up by the help of the trees. The French sentries were surprised and disarmed, and daybreak saw the English forces arrayed on the *Heights of Abraham*, to the west of Quebec. The battle that ensued was little more than a skirmish; but, measured by results, it may rank with the greater battles of the world. The Canadians fought badly, and the French regulars were outflanked and overpowered. Wolfe and Montcalm were slain in the encounter. The incompetent governor, Vaudreuil, in his terror abandoned Quebec, which soon surrendered. Meanwhile Amherst had got hold of Ticonderoga, and another force had occupied Niagara. Next year three armies marched from Lake Ontario, Ticonderoga, and Quebec upon Montreal, where, after a short resistance, the small French garrison surrendered to Amherst's larger force, and a convention was signed, by which the Canadians were abandoned.

14. On the 25th October 1760, in the midst of these great successes, George II. died suddenly. As his son, the pretentious and insincere Frederick, had died Death of George II., 1760. in 1751, George was succeeded by Frederick's eldest son, George III. His other son William (1721-1765) created Duke of Cumberland in 1726, was the victor of Culloden, a man with none of the softer virtues, but possessed of courage, honesty, and obstinacy, a capable soldier, and a fervent patron of English sports.

BOOK IX.

1760-1820.

INTRODUCTION.

GEORGE III.'s long reign witnessed many great and far-reaching changes. In 1760 England was not very different from the England of the Revolution. In 1820 modern England had been practically built up.

In politics George III. upset for a time the constitution of conventions on which the power of the Whig aristocracy was based. But in the struggle he lost the American colonies and the great position in Europe which Chatham had won for England. Yet he succeeded in the end, because he got the people on his side. His triumph marks the faint beginnings of the movement which was in the end to bring the people into power.

England's vigour and energy soon won her European influence back, and laid the foundations of a new commercial and colonial empire. The *Expansion of England* went on almost without a break.

A great *Industrial Revolution* was now making England, hitherto almost altogether a trading and farming country, the workshop of the world. A long series of inventions made the Factory System possible. The results were an increasing population, wealth more quickly and easily won, more progress in material civilisation, and the shifting of the real centre of the country from the south to the north. But great dangers also came in. There were more glaring contrasts of riches and poverty, of luxury and want. The factory hand lived a wretched life in the unhealthy workshop and the stifling town. The new manufacturers looked with bitter jealousy on the old aristocracy. But a new zeal for religion, and a new zeal for humanity, led many good, unself-

ish men to do their best to make the new state of things bearable.

While all this was going on, the eighteenth century system began to break up. The ideas on which it was founded had been already attacked by Voltaire and Rousseau, and its political conventions rudely assailed by Frederick of Prussia. The *French Revolution* completes its wreck.

England weathered the storm better than any other country, though her institutions were sorely tried, and though she had a special danger in distressed and discontented Ireland, now bound more closely to Britain by the *Union*.

Revolution soon brought about *Reaction*. Napoleon Buonaparte professed to carry out the work of the Revolution, while really promoting the reaction. But he strove only for himself, and sought to set up a new universal monarchy. England saved Europe from Napoleon, and upheld the doctrine of nationality, from which so much good was soon to come.

After Napoleon's fall the restored priests and despots of the *Holy Alliance* tried to undo what was good in the Revolution, on the pretence of getting rid of the bad, and waged war against *nations* and *Liberal principles*. England now suffered more from the Reaction than from the Revolution, but she never quite sided with the restored kings of the Continent. But disgust of the long Tory rule now led to a further popular movement, beginning as soon as the war was over. However, before the reaction was completed George III. died.

CHAPTER I.

George III.'s First Struggles for Power, 1760-1782.

1. George III. was twenty-two years old when he began to reign. His mother, Augusta of Sachsen-Gotha, described him as "not a wild boy, but good-
Character of George III.
 natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole; not quick, but applicable and intelligent; his book-learning small or useless, but instructed in the general understanding of things." But she had brought

him up in a very narrow way. He thought Shakespeare "sad stuff, only one must not say so." But he liked Handel's music, and was a fair performer himself. He was honest, hard-working, religious, and of good private life. He lived simply and frugally, amusing himself with farming. He married in 1761 Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who was, says Horace Walpole, "not tall nor a beauty; pale and very thin, but sensible-looking and genteel." With his narrow intellect George possessed a strong will, a high courage and a vigorous character. He was thoroughly obstinate, and there was no way of getting over his prejudices. He boasted that he was "born and bred a Briton,"

and he had been taught by his mother "to be a His political objects. king." He chose as his chief adviser *John Stuart, Earl of Bute*, a rich Scotch nobleman of culture and refinement, but inexperienced in politics and too fond of intrigue. Bute was a new Tory of the school of Bolingbroke, and taught George to take for his model Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*, "the enemy of all corruption, the most powerful of all reformers, the admiration of every honest man." The patriot king was "to begin to govern as soon as he begins to reign, purge his Court, and call into the administration such as will serve him on his principles." He must "espouse no party, for party government must always end in the government of a faction." He was to exercise freely and fully all those powers which the law still gave him, but which the custom of the last two reigns had taken away. Above all, he was to choose his own ministers. He was to accept "Revolution principles," and never break the strict law. But his great object was to overthrow the constitutional usages which had made the king a sort of Venetian doge. He was to extend his connections and enlarge his influence in every way in his power. This great object George pursued continuously and persistently for nearly fifty years. He did not flinch under a storm of unpopularity, and in the long run won the day. People respected him because his life was pure, and because he was such a thorough Englishman. His prejudices were, after all, their prejudices. His ends were honest, but he was as corrupt as Walpole in the means he took to gain them, and, though he spent little on himself, he got rid of so much money in bribery that he was constantly in debt, though his "*civil list*" was a liberal one. He meant to break down the organised ring of noble Whig houses that had ruled England for the last two reigns. His great advantages

were their unpopularity with the people, their factious quarrels among themselves, and the corrupt and irresponsible character of the House of Commons. His chief dependants soon began to act together independently of party politics, and the secret influence of the "*king's friends*" was soon complained of. The new Tories, whom Bolingbroke had taught, looked up to him as they had looked up to his father Frederick. Even Jacobites attended his Court. Before long the Whig influence began to wane. It would have fallen much sooner, only George could not see the strong likeness between his ideas and those of Pitt. He even confounded Pitt with the Whig noblemen, and hated him the more because he was powerful and beloved. This, along with the unpopularity of his mother and his Scotch adviser, made him much disliked at first. But when experience showed his slow mind the right way to go to work he succeeded wonderfully. Step by step he brought back the Tories to power, and from 1770 to 1830 the Tory rule was only broken up by short ministries in 1782-4, and in 1806-7, which George accepted unwillingly and turned out as soon as he could. Yet George was no mere Tory king, as his predecessors had been Whig kings. He aimed at being above parties, and only used the Tories because their ideas fell in most nearly with his. In the end he chose what ministers he would. The royal power again became a reality. And he grew more popular as he succeeded better.

2. From 1760 to 1770 was the period of struggle. George kept sowing dissension among the Whigs, and ^{Fall of Pitt,} steadily breaking up their party. But though ^{1761.} he succeeded in putting a *series of weak coalitions* in the place of the strong Whig ministry of Pitt and Newcastle, he quarrelled with his people as completely as with his nobles. He got rid of Pitt by putting Bute into his Cabinet, and by rousing Newcastle's jealousy against the "great Commoner." He also strove for peace, as that would diminish Pitt's glory, and give more leisure to carry out the new policy. But France had now won a new ally in Spain, where in 1759 Don Carlos of Naples, the old foe of the English, had become King Charles III., in succession to his half-brother, the peace-making Ferdinand VI., and had formed a *Family Compact* (August 1761) with France, like that of 1733, and was making ready to join the war. Pitt got early news of this alliance, and, like Frederick of Prussia, proposed to meet the attack by striking first; but all the Cabinet except his brother-in-law, Temple, opposed him.

Pitt declared "that he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he was accountable, and he would not remain responsible for measures he was not allowed to guide." "I can hardly regret his determination to leave us," replied old Lord Granville. "He talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets that at this Board he is only responsible to the king." But the language of the French was very different: "His dismissal is a greater gain to us," said the philosopher Diderot, "than the winning of two battles."

3. Newcastle was soon driven away also (1762), and Lord Bute became chief minister. Bute tried to make Pitt unpopular by giving him a pension and Lady Hester a peerage. But though he was very anxious for peace, he was forced to allow that Pitt was right by waging war against Spain. England was, however, as lucky in this as in her other wars. She saved Portugal from invasion, and captured Manila and Havana. Bute, however, pressed hard for peace, like Bolingbroke in 1713; and on 10th February 1763 the *Treaty of Paris* was signed, which gave England a great deal, though hardly as much as she might have expected.

The Bute Ministry, 1762-63, and the Peace of Paris, 1763.

Its terms were—(a) France gave up all claims on Nova Scotia, and surrendered Canada and Cape Breton, but kept a share in the Newfoundland Cod Fisheries, with the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. (b) The Mississippi was to be the boundary between the English colonies and Louisiana, which France a little later ceded to Spain. (c) Grenada and the "Neutral Islands" in the West Indies went to England, which gave back Guadeloupe and other conquests. (d) France surrendered Senegal. (e) In India France got back Pondicherry, and her other possessions, but only by promising to maintain no troops or fortifications there. (f) Minorca went back to England. (g) England restored Cuba, and Manila (conquered after peace was signed), but got Florida instead.

Frederick of Prussia was disgusted at being thrown over by England, and always refused for the rest of his life to make any alliance with her; but he had himself been saved by the death of Elizabeth of Russia, and the friendship of her successors, Peter III. and Catharine II. He soon after made the *Peace of Hubertsburg*, which left him Silesia, But for the next few years Englishmen were too busy at home to trouble much about foreign affairs. George let France take Corsica (1769), and allowed Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to make the first *Partition of Poland* (1772), a vast but ill-governed state, with an elective king, and a

wretched constitution, that could no longer hold its own against the rising military powers of the East. Gradually France recovered from the war, and in 1770 joined Spain in attacking the English settlement in the *Falkland Islands*, where war was only avoided by the firmness and prudence of England, and a change of ministry in France. But the growth of the Northern and Eastern powers turned the main interest in politics far away from England.

4. In 1763 Bute, who was so unpopular that he could only move about the streets with a guard of prize-fighters, suddenly resigned. The king now made *George Grenville* Prime Minister, a clever lawyer and a good parliamentary leader, but with little sympathy or insight, and as narrow and pedantic as the king. Grenville was a brother-in-law of Pitt, but had quarrelled with him and his brother Temple, and now led a separate faction of Whigs. He was soon strengthened by the other independent Whig faction, called the *Bloomsbury Gang*, from the London house of its leader, the Duke of Bedford. But Grenville raised a tremendous storm by prosecuting John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, for attacking the king's speech in No. 45 of the *North Briton*, his scurrilous newspaper. Wilkes, a clever man of very bad character, now became the people's hero. Chief-Justice Pratt declared his arrest unlawful because he was seized on a *general warrant* mentioning no persons, but generally the "authors, printers, and publishers of No. 45," and because he enjoyed the privilege of Parliament, though Parliament had thrown him over. Pratt also pronounced the search warrant under which Wilkes' papers were ransacked illegal. These decisions were thought to further greatly the liberty of the subject. A London jury awarded Wilkes heavy damages against the Government; but he was attacked on a new charge of blasphemy and libel, and, running away to France after fighting a duel, was declared an outlaw.

George Grenville, 1763-65, and Wilkes, 1763.

5. In 1765 Grenville passed the *Stamp Act* which taxed the American colonies, and quarrelled with the king, who turned him out of office. George was now forced to bring back the official Whigs, under Newcastle and their new leader, the *Marquis of Rockingham*, a Yorkshire magnate, descended from the great Lord Strafford, and a man of unblemished character, but of little ability. This short ministry did very well; but was secretly attacked by the "king's friends," and weakened

Rockingham's First Ministry, 1765-66.

by the hostility of Pitt. It repealed the Stamp Act, and ended for a time the Wilkes difficulties.

6. In 1766 George turned out Rockingham, and called upon Pitt, who agreed with him in disliking party government, to form a ministry. Pitt, says Burke, "made an administration so chequered and speckled ; he put together
Chatham's
Ministry,
1766-68.
a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed ; such a piece of diversified mosaic ; such a tessellated pavement without cement, here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white ; patriots and courtiers ; king's friends and republicans ; Whigs and Tories ; treacherous friends and open enemies, that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on."

Pitt formed great schemes for restoring the fading prestige of England. In particular, he wished to reform the government of India. "I think this," he said, "the greatest of all objects, according to my sense of great." He also wished to ally England with Russia and Prussia to counteract the Family Compact, for he was always a friend of Russia, and hoped from the Russian attacks on Turkey that "the Ottoman would pull down the House of Bourbon in his fall." But gout and weak nerves left Pitt only the shadow of his former self. He knew this so well that he would only take the small office of Lord Privy Seal, and this lost him his popularity by obliging him to be made a peer. He became Earl of Chatham. He soon fell into "the lowest dejection and debility that mind or body can be in." "He sits all day leaning on his hands, which he supports on the table ; does not permit any person to remain in the room ; knocks when he wants anything ; and having made his wants known, gives a signal, without speaking, to the person who answered his call, to retire." In his absence his colleagues upset his most cherished schemes. Charles Townsend, the brilliant but erratic Chancellor of the Exchequer, taxed America again. When Wilkes came back, went to prison, and was elected member for Middlesex, the Government led the Commons to set at naught the rights of the constituencies, and annul the election. Again and again the freeholders returned their favourite ; but the House was not to be moved. In 1768 the Wilkes riots broke out, and five or six people were shot down by a Scotch regiment in St. George's Fields in Southwark, outside the King's Bench prison, where Wilkes was shut up.

In 1769 an anonymous writer who called himself *Junius*

began to attack the Government with great power, but still greater skill and malignity, in a series of letters in the *Public Advertiser*. "I speak," he boasted, "from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate, and darkness, we are told, is one source of the sublime. The mystery of Junius increases his importance." The famous Irishman, Edmund Burke, who had been Rockingham's secretary, and was the great defender of the Whigs, attacked the "system of double government" in his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (1770), and defended party government against both George and Chatham. Disgusted at Parliament's want of sympathy with the people, strong politicians started an outside agitation for its reform, and founded with this end political societies—such as the *Society of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights*. Candidates for Parliament were compelled to make all sorts of pledges, and promise to sit as mere delegates. After a long struggle Parliament gave up its attempt to keep its debates and divisions secret (1771). Reports of Parliamentary speeches now appeared regularly, and told the people what their members were doing. The result was that interest in politics became much more widely spread. A whole series of political newspapers was set up: the *Morning Chronicle* in 1770, the *Post* in 1772, the *Herald* in 1780. *Grenville's Act* (that disputed elections should be settled, not by a party vote of the whole House, but by a select committee sworn to act impartially) prevented many elections being upset for merely party purposes (1770). But long before this Chatham got well again, abandoned his faithless ministers in disgust (1768), and declared for parliamentary reform.

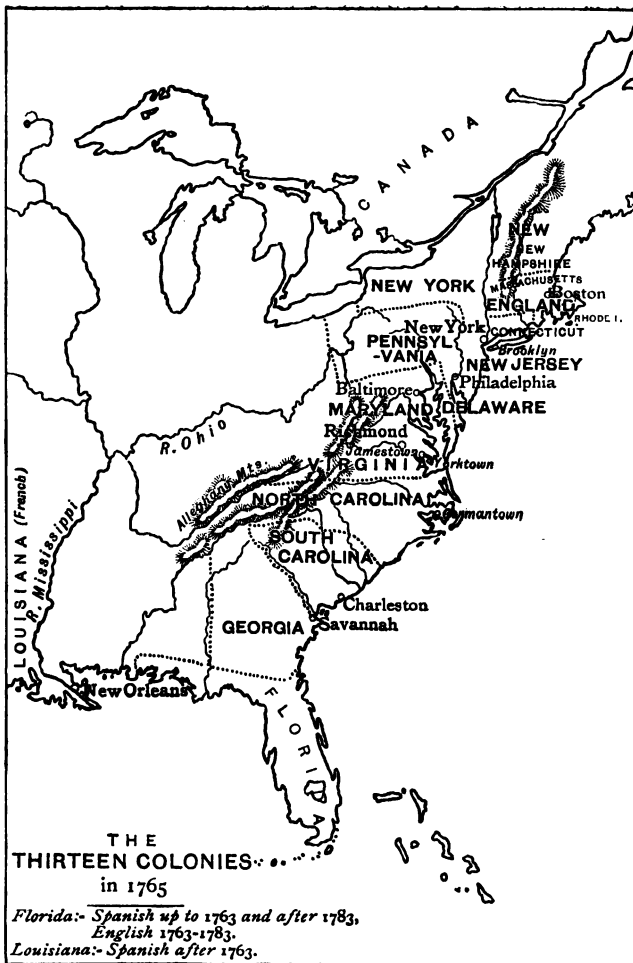
7. *The Duke of Grafton*, an easy-going, indolent, pleasure-loving man, tried to keep on the ministry till 1770, when he too resigned in despair. George gave to Lord North what seemed the almost impossible task of carrying on the government; but "after a violent ferment in the nation a remarkable calm succeeded, and the people fell into a total indifference to all matters of public concern." For twelve years North remained First Lord of the Treasury. He was "a coarse and clumsy-looking man, short-sighted, with a wide mouth, thick lips, and inflated visage, giving him the air of a blind trumpeter." Yet "within that rude casket were enclosed many useful talents." "The quickness of his mind seemed intuitive,"

Grafton's failure, 1768-70, and North's success, 1770-82.

and he was shrewd, good-natured, and exceedingly easy-tempered. He let George act as real minister, and the sole director of the Cabinet policy, while each minister stuck closely to his own office, and carried out the king's directions. In 1772 he showed his servility by passing the *Royal Marriage Act* (which still remains law), by which no member of the Royal Family could contract a legal marriage without the king's consent.

8. Chatham thundered against North's rule, crying that "England was no more like old England than the Rome of the Monsignori like the Rome of the Catos and Gracchi"; and complaining that "the public slept quietly under the tyranny of the House of Commons," and that "the whole constitution was a shadow." But he spoke to deaf ears. "The narrow genius of old corps connection weakened the Whigs, and rendered national union on Revolution principles impossible." *Edmund Burke*, their greatest orator and thinker, spoke to empty benches speeches "far better suited for a patient reader than an impatient hearer." "Boundless in knowledge, instantaneous in his apprehensions, and abundant in his language," Burke's speeches were not merely weapons for the moment, but treasures of political wisdom for all time. He was joined by a brilliant seceder from the North ministry in *Charles James Fox* (the third son of the hated Henry Fox, now Lord Holland), who was now rapidly becoming "the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw." "He was," says Burke, "a man made to be loved, of the most artless, candid, open, and benevolent disposition; disinterested in the extreme, and without one drop of gall in his whole composition." But he was often factious, and was a spendthrift, a gambler, and a man of too easy private character.

Under Fox and Burke the *New Whigs* became purged of the old party leaven. They learnt in opposition to uphold a more liberal policy than in the days of Walpole and Pelham. Yet they were not so advanced as Chatham, and even common opposition could not bind together the party of Rockingham and the little band that still followed the great orator. The Whigs advocated *Economical Reform* (that is, cutting down pensions, sinecures, and useless offices, and securing purity of administration), while Chatham was anxious for *Parliamentary Reform*, and changing the very balance of the constitution by making Parliament more representative. But neither section of the



opposition could dislodge North and the king. For twelve years North remained in office, doing the king's will. The ten years of struggle were followed by twelve years of triumph for King George. But out of his triumph sprang troubles which lost him all the English-speaking colonies in North America and the future empire of that continent.

CHAPTER II.

George III., the American Revolution, and the younger Pitt, 1765-1789.

1. The absolute supremacy of the English in America after 1763 caused the colonists to indulge in the wildest dreams of future greatness. "England will soon repent," said a clever Frenchman, "of having removed (by the conquest of Canada) the only check which could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection. She will call on them to contribute towards the burdens they have brought on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence." The jealousy of the colonies for one another was the chief hope of the Government; and the last war had shown that even colonial union was possible. But soon after the peace George Grenville, who, like George III., who agreed with him, was a great upholder of strict legality, resolved to enforce the commercial laws, which gave England a monopoly of American trade. They had long been the great grievance of the Americans, who had hitherto evaded them by an organised system of smuggling. Grenville's vigorous execution of the law provoked great discontent, which was much increased when he resolved to keep a permanent army in America and make the Americans pay part of its cost. Now there was no common American assembly, so that the only way in use of making laws for all the colonies was through the English Parliament, which had often passed laws touching America without awakening any opposition. With no wish to lessen American liberty, Grenville passed in 1765 a *Stamp Act*, which required all deeds, newspapers, and formal acts in America to be printed or written on stamped paper, the proceeds of the duty going

Origin of the
American War.

American
Taxation,
1765-78.

to keep the proposed army. But the Americans refused to use the stamped paper, and declared that as taxation and representation went together, the English Parliament, in which they had no part, had no right to tax them, especially an inland tax of the kind proposed. Such was the outcry, that in 1766 Rockingham repealed the Act; though he passed another law declaring that Parliament had a right to make laws binding British colonies in all cases whatsoever. This was done by the advice of Burke, while Pitt, who "rejoiced that America had resisted," maintained "that this kingdom had no right to levy a tax on the colonies without their consent." In 1767 Townshend, Chatham's own Chancellor of the Exchequer, took advantage of his chief's illness to put some new duties on glass, red and white lead, colours, paper, and tea imported into America. Americans had hitherto admitted the right of England to impose laws regulating their external trade and enforcing duties, but now they were very angry at this silly attempt to revive the policy of the Stamp Act. They maintained that, like Scotland before 1707, America owed allegiance to the English Crown alone, and not to the English Parliament at all. A passive resistance made the new taxes of no effect. English soldiers and the Royalists who took the English side were scouted and insulted. In 1770 a fight between some soldiers and the Boston mob resulted in a trifling disturbance, denounced as the "bloody massacre," and the "foundation of American independence." In 1773 North repealed all Townshend's duties except that on tea, and, to help the India Company (then in great financial distress), allowed it to send out tea from England to America, without charging the high English duty, and subject only to this American duty of 3d. a pound. But the Americans would not be bribed by cheap tea to acknowledge the doctrine of the Act of 1766. Men disguised as Red Indians boarded the tea-ships in Boston harbour and threw their cargoes overboard (16th Dec. 1773). Meanwhile the Solicitor-General, the time-serving and astute Wedderburn, grossly insulted Dr. Franklin, the popular writer and man of science, who was agent in London for Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Parliament was angry with Boston, and passed laws removing its trade to Salem, making the government of Massachusetts dependent on the Crown, and allowing American rioters to be tried in England, where juries would convict them. At the same time the Puritanism of New England was violently disgusted by the

Quebec Act, which continued the old French system of despotic government and the former privileges of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

2. A Congress of twelve colonies met at Philadelphia and made ready for armed resistance. At home Parliament

**The declaration
of Independ-
dence, 1776.**

rejected Chatham and Burke's projects for conciliation, and when Lord North himself (Feb. 20, 1775) carried a proposal that colonies which made a grant towards the expenses of the empire should be freed from all imperial taxation, the concession was too small, and came too late. On 19th April 1775 the colonial volunteers attacked at Lexington a body of English troops on their way back to Boston after destroying some magazines of stores at Concord. Boston was now blockaded by a force of armed colonists, and on 17th June General Gage marched to dislodge them from their position on Breed's Hill and Bunker's Hill, which overlooked Boston town. Twice the well-posted volunteers thrust back the regular troops as they climbed up the steep slopes of Breed's Hill. But the third time the Americans gave way, and the *battle of Bunker's Hill* made peace for a time hopeless. Another Congress at Philadelphia made everything ready for fighting, and appointed Colonel George Washington of Virginia general of the American army. In 1776 a pamphlet called "*Common Sense*," by the sturdy revolutionist, Tom Paine, appeared at Philadelphia, and urged America to free itself from "the barbarous and hellish power which hath stirred up the Indians and negroes to destroy us." In March Washington seized on Dorchester Heights, which commanded Boston, and forced the English army to withdraw to Halifax. The enlistment of German hired troops to get over the difficulty of recruiting English soldiers still further disgusted the Americans. At last, on 4th July 1776, the Congress issued the famous *Declaration of Independence of the United States of America*, which resolved—

"That these united colonies are and ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved."

3. From the soldiers' point of view, the war of American Independence, so pregnant with great political results, was of very little importance. The armies on both sides were small, half-hearted, and badly led. In England opinion was violently divided, and though the mass of the people agreed with King George that America

**The American
War, 1775-82.**

must be conquered, king and people alike knew little how hard a task they had before them, and could not pick out the right men as generals as Pitt would have done. The Americans were similarly divided: there was, especially in the south, a large loyalist minority; and though there was much violent talk and some vigorous action among the leaders, the yeomen of New England and the Quakers and Germans of Pennsylvania hated fighting, and only wanted to carry on their business in peace. Washington, a strong man, of a sober and judicious sort, was disgusted with his soldiers. "Such a dearth of public spirit, and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in low arts, I never saw before," says he in 1775. But every advantage was on the side of the colonists. The vast distances, the impossibility of forcing on an attack, the incompetence of the English commanders, and the smallness of the English armies, all secured the Americans' success. Yet at first the colonists were hard put to it. Sir William Howe landed in Long Island, and won the *Battle of Brooklyn* (Aug. 1776), the first fought on the open field. Washington withdrew his troops from New York, which now became the English headquarters. But Howe, unlike his dead brother, Pitt's favourite, was a poor general. Though in 1777 he won two battles at *Brandywine Creek* and *Ger-mantown*, overran New Jersey, and occupied Philadelphia, the seat of the Congress, he left Washington unassailed in his winter quarters at Valley Forge, though the *continental* (*i.e.* the colonial) army was reduced to a half-starved, shoeless remnant of a few thousand men. Howe failed, also, to work well with General Burgoyne, more successful as a writer of plays, and a man about town, than as a general, who had marched from Canada down the Hudson Valley, but was obliged to surrender in October 1777 with over 5000 men to the American General Gates at *Saratoga*.

4. The capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga decided the war. France, long waiting a chance to pay off old scores against England, now acknowledged the independence of America (1778). Many volunteers, including the young Marquis of Lafayette, afterwards so famous in the history of the French Revolution, and Kosciusko, the Polish hero, joined the Americans. Arms, supplies, troops, and officers were sent over. Open war now broke out between France and England. Now that it was too late, Lord North was allowed to carry through Parliament proposals for conciliation such as

War with
France, Spain,
and Holland,
1778-80.

Burke had previously urged in vain ; but the Americans were now bent on nothing less than freedom from England altogether. In 1779 Spain joined France and blockaded Gibraltar. In 1780 our old ally, Holland, joined England's enemies, while the northern powers, headed by Catharine of Russia and Frederick the Great, who still hated the House of Hanover, formed an *Armed Neutrality* to protect the trading-ships of neutral powers from the English claim to search for and seize enemies' goods. Meanwhile the attempts of North to help the English Roman Catholics

The Gordon Riots, 1780. led to terrible riots in London (June 1780), when the mob, led by the half-mad Lord George

Gordon, burnt Catholic chapels, opened the prisons, plundered the town, and frightened the ministry. In 1778

Ireland, 1778-82. bands of volunteers, formed to protect Ireland from invasion, imitated the acts of the Americans, and destroyed English ascendancy.

An able and energetic American captain, Paul Jones, plundered the British coasts. A doubtful battle with the French fleet off Ushant led to a political squabble between the Whig admiral, Keppel, and his Tory second in command, Palliser. English colonies, and especially West India Islands, fell one after the other into the enemies' hands. In India, Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore, was laying waste the English settlements on the Karnátik up to the walls of Madras.

5. Many thought that the greatness of England had passed

Death of Chatham, 1778, and loss of America, 1781. away, and the Whig opposition openly rejoiced at the failures of the king and the Tories ; but this conduct made them "not only patriots out

of place, but patriots out of the opinion of the public," and considerably strengthened the king's hands. In his worst difficulties George never lost heart. "There shall, at all events," said he, in the crisis of the Gordon riots, "be one magistrate of the kingdom who will do his duty." Yet he refused to give Chatham the chance to save England once more. "I solemnly declare," wrote he, "that nothing shall bring me personally to treat with Lord Chatham." He would allow North to offer him a place in the existing ministry, but that was of course impossible. But in April 1778 Chatham's eloquent voice was heard for the last time in the House of Lords, protesting with faltering though spirited accents "against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." He fell back in a fit when his speech was over, and died on 11th

May. With him expired the last faint hope of regaining America.

The American war was now carried on more vigorously than in its earlier stages, and the difficulty of keeping together the *continental* troops and of paying them in Government bank notes that were worth much less than their nominal value, drove Washington well-nigh to despair. "The combined fleets of France and Spain," he wrote, "were greatly superior to those of the enemy: nevertheless the enemy sustained no material damage, and at the close of the campaign gave a very important blow to our allies." Though in 1778 Clinton, Howe's successor, was forced to leave Philadelphia, the loyalist colony of Georgia became the basis for the conquest of Charleston and South Carolina in 1780. Two American generals, Benedict Arnold and Lee, deserted to the English. But the English failed in their invasion of North Carolina, and in 1781 the main fighting was in Virginia, where, after some successes, Lord Cornwallis, who, alone of the English generals, formed great plans (which he had not strength to carry out) for offensive war against the Americans, was hemmed in by superior forces at *York Town* and, on 17th October, forced, like Burgoyne, to surrender with all his army. This really ended the war, though Charleston held out against the Americans for some time, and New York was only given up at the peace. The independence of the thirteen United States was secured, and a great migration of persecuted loyalists to Canada and Nova Scotia completed and assured the final fall of English influence.

6. Elsewhere, however, England showed that her vigour was not yet abated. The energy of Warren Hastings, the first and greatest Governor-general, and the military skill of the veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, led to the complete defeat of Haidar Ali in 1781 at *Porto Novo*. In the West Indies the French had taken every English island except Antigua, Barbados, and Jamaica, and were planning a strong expedition against the latter island. But in April 1782 Rodney won a famous victory over Grasse, near *Dominica*, in which he succeeded in the manœuvre of breaking the French line. This saved Jamaica from the projected attack. In September 1782 the last great effort to get back Gibraltar was made by the Spaniards, and resisted by General Eliott. The ten battering ships which were believed to be proof against the heaviest hostile artillery were set on fire by red-hot shot from

the fortress. Next month Admiral Howe, brother of the two generals, relieved the garrison ; but the blockade, begun in 1779, was only raised when the peace was signed.

7. Lord North had long wished to resign, and only kept in place to please the king ; but as his majorities were gradually dwindling away he suddenly threw up office in March 1782. George seriously thought of giving up the crown rather than receive a Whig ministry, but at last he reluctantly took Rockingham as First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox as Secretary of State. The influence of the Whig houses was checked by the accomplished but bad-tempered and intriguing Shelburne, Carteret's son-in-law, the leader of the Chathamites, accepting the other secretaryship, and the coarse and brutal Thurlow, the most important of the "king's friends," remaining Chancellor. Burke was only made Paymaster of the Forces, and did not get even a seat in the Cabinet. But his violence and want of tact, together with the gang of doubtful Irish friends by whom he was always surrounded, rather than his poverty and humble origin, were the real causes of this. He was intrusted, however, with the great plan of *Economical Reform*, though it was made much less sweeping than he wished in order to satisfy the king.

8. To get England out of her difficulties was the chief task of Rockingham's government. By yielding legislative independence to Ireland (1782) it quieted for a time the imitators of America among the Irish Protestants. Its greatest task was to enter into negotiations for peace. Before, however, these were ended, a violent quarrel broke out between Fox and Shelburne, and when on Rockingham's death the king made Shelburne First Lord of the Treasury, Fox and his followers went out of office in July 1782, leaving Shelburne at the head of a ministry of "king's friends" and Chathamites. Thurlow still remained Chancellor, and William Pitt, Chatham's younger son, who had just entered Parliament, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Shelburne now ended the peace negotiations by the *Treaty of Versailles* (1783) on the following conditions :—

(a) England recognised as the basis of negotiations the independence of the United States, and the boundaries were so fixed that the land between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was recognised as belonging to them. (b) The English kept power to navigate the Mississippi, while the Americans kept a share in the Newfoundland fisheries. (c) The loyalists in America were left to their fate. (d) England ceded

The second
Rockingham
Ministry, 1782.
The Shelburne
Ministry, 1782-3,
and the Peace
of Versailles,
1783.

Tobago, Senegal, and a few other possessions to France, but received back most of her losses, resigning her conquests, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and giving up the offensive clause of the Treaty of Utrecht prohibiting the fortification of Dunkirk. (e) Spain received from England Minorca and Florida.

9. Shelburne's ministry did not last long. He professed to have "learnt from his master in politics, Chatham, that the country ought not to be governed by any party or faction," and "to stand up for the pre-rogative of the Crown, and to insist on the king's right to appoint his own servants." But the dislike felt for Shelburne united all parties against him. The Tories under North were disgusted because the king had deserted them. The Whigs under Fox were always factious and violent. But few were prepared for what happened. Fox, who had said in 1778 "that the idea of union with the ministers who had betrayed their country was too monstrous to be admitted," now formed a close coalition with North. "The king," said Fox, "must not be suffered to be his own minister." "If you mean there should not be government by departments," answered North, "I agree with you. It was not brought in by me. I found it so, and had not vigour to end it. The appearance of power is all that a king of this country can have." But every one was disgusted at their sudden change of front, at what the Scotch poet Burns called "yon mixtie-maxtie queer hotch-potch, the Coalition." As Fox himself said, "Nothing but success can justify it." It succeeded in turning out Shelburne, and in forcing on the king a government, nominally headed by the Duke of Portland, but really by the two secretaries, Fox and North (April 1783). George's grief was the more bitter, as his son, George, Prince of Wales, now of age, whose private extravagance and immorality disgusted his father even more than his public conduct, sided strongly with the Coalition, and professed an open friendship for Fox.

10. "I trust the eyes of the nation will soon be opened," moaned George, "as my sorrow will be soon fatal to my health if I remain in this thralldom." The first weighty measure of the Coalition gave him an opening. Fox brought in an *India Bill* to regulate the terrible disorders of the East Indian Company's administration. It was a bold and wise measure to take away from the Company all political rights, and to put the government of India in the hands of a

Fall of the
Coalition and
triumph of
the King,
1783-84.

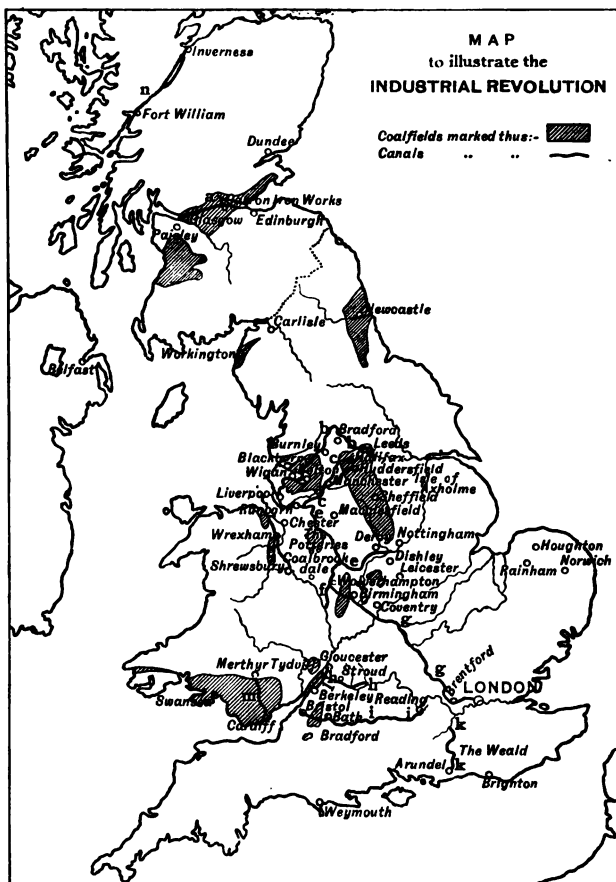
commission named by Parliament. It was attacked as assailing the chartered rights of the Company, and the prerogative of the king to appoint ministers. "If this bill passes," said Thurlow, "the king will take the diadem from his own head and put it on the head of Mr. Fox." But George resolved it should not pass. It went through the Commons easily, but Lord Temple (nephew of Lady Chatham, and son of George Grenville) handed round in the Lords a paper written by the king, saying that "whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not the king's friend, but would be considered as his enemy." The old Whig majority had long been broken up by secessions and new creations and by making "king's friends" bishops. "We were beaten," said Fox, "in the Lords by such treachery of the king, and such meanness of his friends, as one could never have expected." George now turned the ministers out, but they passed a resolution through the Commons condemning Temple's action "as a high crime and misdemeanour," and Fox boasted that "nobody could undertake to form a ministry without madness." William Pitt, however, did undertake the task, though he could not get a single minister of cabinet rank from the Commons. The news of his appointment was received with shouts of laughter. "It will only be a mince-pie administration, and will not outlast the Christmas holidays." "They are a set of children playing at ministers," said a Whig leader, "and must be sent back to school."

An extraordinary struggle occupied the spring session of 1784. Pitt was beaten again and again, and the fiercer Whigs threatened to stop supplies; but the young minister haughtily declared that so long as he kept the king's confidence he would neither resign nor dissolve Parliament. Soon popular enthusiasm for the son of Chatham began to flow, and, combined with the influence of the Crown, was strong enough to win the battle. The Tories now began to desert North for George, and Wilkes himself was hot against the Coalition. On 25th March Parliament was dissolved, and the new elections gave king and minister a solid and triumphant majority. It was the greatest victory George had ever won. It was also the greatest victory of the people. George had learnt from the son what he would never learn from the father. Pitt had united king and people in opposition to greedy and selfish factions. The principles of Chatham and Bolingbroke were at last realised together.

11. Pitt was now just twenty-five years old. He was tall, thin, stiff in his manner, dignified, sickly in health, shy,

and proud, though among his few intimates he was gay, easy-tempered, witty, and affectionate. He had been taught oratory by his father, and had studied hard at Cambridge. Without Chatham's fire and passion, he yet had a "premature and unnatural dexterity in the combination of words," was a ready debater, and a fluent and impressive rhetorician. With but little of his father's genius, he had the tact and business knowledge which Chatham had lacked. Burke called him "the sublime of mediocrity," and the phrase expresses a truth, though not the whole truth. As a statesman, he was hopeful, stimulating, and steadfast. Though so closely bound up with the king, he was too powerful and too hard-working to become his dependant like North. He still looked to the people for support, and though he led the Tory party, still called himself a Whig among his friends. He believed in parliamentary reform and the relief of the Catholics, and he was in favour of a generous attitude to Ireland. He found, however, that the king and his party were against him, and he was rather too ready to rest contented with making his views known, without taking vigorous steps to carry them into effect. Under him bribery ceased, though he was a lavish creator of peers, and thought that all very rich men ought to sit in the House of Lords. He was a great financier. He had read and digested Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and believed in his doctrines of *free trade* and colonial policy. His *budget* speeches were much admired. In 1786 he carried a plan for a *Sinking Fund*, by which he proposed to set aside a part of the national revenue every year to be invested and applied with its interest towards the reduction of the national debt. In the same year he made a famous *Commercial Treaty* with France, which went a long way towards free trade between the old enemies. He carried an *India Bill* (1784), which, though not so broad as Fox's, brought about nearly the same end by establishing a new government department called the *Board of Control*, under a President who was a member of the ministry, to supervise the political policy of the Company. When, in 1787, the opposition impeached the great and successful governor-general, Warren Hastings, for corruption, misgovernment, and oppression, Pitt, urged by Wilberforce, who was horrified at the piteous tales told about the wrongs of the Indians, supported the impeachment, though George stoutly and manfully backed up Hastings.

Pitt's character
and early
government,
1783-89.



Walker & Routledge

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a Forth and Clyde Canal. | h Thames and Severn Canal. |
| b Leeds and Liverpool Canal. | i Kennett and Avon Canal. |
| c Bridgewater Canal. | k Wey and Arun Canal. |
| d Ellesmere Canal. | l Gloucester and Berkeley (Ship) |
| e Grand Trunk Canal. | Canal. |
| f Staffordshire Canal. | m Glamorganshire Canal. |
| g Grand Junction Canal. | n Caledonian (Ship) Canal. |

The great trial began in 1788, but was more famous for oratory than for its results, and, after languishing many years, ended in the much-wronged Hastings' acquittal.

Pitt was very careful in his foreign policy, and strove successfully to win back the friends England had lost during the American war. He formed a close alliance with Prussia, Holland, and other northern powers, and was the first English statesman to look with jealousy on the rise of Russia, where the great Empress Catharine II. had made a firm friendship with the philosophic reformer Joseph II. of Austria, the son and successor of Maria Theresa, and had arranged with him to partition Turkey.

In 1788 George went quite mad for a time, and Fox and the Whigs argued that their friend the Prince of Wales had a right to act as Regent. Pitt rightly maintained that in Parliament alone lay the appointment of a Regent and the definition of his powers. He was ready to make the prince regent with certain limitations to his power by Act of Parliament. But under the mild and gentle treatment of Dr. Willis, the king soon got well again, and, approving Pitt's behaviour, he said that "they were united for the rest of his life, and that nothing but death should separate them."

CHAPTER III.

Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century. The Industrial Revolution.

1. Up to about 1760 England remained mainly a nation of farmers and merchants. Save that of wool, its manufactures were of no great importance. Rough goods English trade before 1760. for home use were largely made, but most fine and finished articles were imported from France or Holland. During the first half of the 18th century England won the trading supremacy over the world. The *carrying trade*, which, before the Revolution, had been in the hands of the Dutch, had now passed to the English. Every war was waged for commercial advantages. Every peace brought fresh gains to trade. The *Methuen Treaty* with Portugal (1703) had opened the Portuguese markets to our

woollen goods on condition of our taking Portuguese wines at a third less duty than French. This was looked upon as that "glorious treaty by which England gains a million a year," because the Portuguese had nothing to pay for our English goods except gold and silver, and in those days the trade which brought most gold and silver into a country was looked upon as by far the most beneficial. The *Asiento* (which gave England the sole right of supplying the Spanish colonies with negro slaves), and the commercial clauses of the *Treaty of Utrecht* gave a fresh start to English trade. Bristol merchants grew rich on the slave-trade, which was so profitable that no one thought of its wickedness. The growth of the East India Company's territories, the conquest of the French colonies and the spread of our own, all gave fresh openings to the British merchant. Traders got richer, had more influence in Parliament, and founded county families. London grew fast, Liverpool, and (after the Union) Glasgow began to rival Bristol in the American trade. But it was not by peace and free trade, but by successful war and monopoly that England won its great foreign trade. Yet having once got it, she managed to beat all possible competitors; and, even after losing the American colonies, the volume of her trade with them increased, in accordance with Adam Smith's principle, but to everybody else's surprise.

Manufacturing industry also grew steadily during the first half of the eighteenth century; but it was on the old lines and with the old tools. There was little elaborate machinery, little concentration of labour into factories, limited division of labour, and miserable means of communication. Yet between 1700 and 1750 the population of Lancashire, where the cotton trade was beginning to be important, grew from about 160,000 to nearly 300,000, and that of the West Riding of Yorkshire from 230,000 to 360,000, while the whole population of England was only five millions in 1700 and six millions in 1750.

2. About 1760 a series of discoveries multiplied the power of production. Four great inventions made the cotton trade, **The Industrial Revolution.** hitherto one of the smallest of our industries, a rival with the woollen trade itself. Up to 1760 the machines used were as simple as those of India, and no whole cotton goods were made; all had a linen warp as well as a cotton weft. In 1769 the shrewd and sanguine Richard Arkwright, a Bolton barber, invented the system of spinning by rollers, which led to his *water-frame*. In 1770

James Hargreaves, a Blackburn weaver, patented his *spinning jenny*, which enabled one person to spin several threads at once. In 1779 the proud and sensitive Samuel Crompton introduced his *mule*, which combined the principles of Hargreaves' and Arkwright's inventions. Meanwhile Strutt's improvements on his *stocking-frame* gave a further start to the hosiery trade of Nottingham. The cautious and far-seeing James Watt, mathematical instrument maker at Glasgow, now effected such improvements in the *steam-engine* (1769), which had hitherto only been used in Newcomen's more clumsy form, that it became the chief agent in revolutionising the old state of trade and labour, and ultimately of society. In 1785 steam was first used in the cotton trade, and in the same year Dr. Edmund Cartwright, a portly and dignified Yorkshire clergyman, patented his *power-loom*, though it did not come into general use till the present century. The south-eastern towns of Lancashire (Manchester and Bolton), and the district round Nottingham and Derby, were now the chief seats of the cotton trade, which in its golden age, between 1783 and 1803, trebled its volume. Robert Peel of Blackburn, grandfather of the famous statesman, took up very vigorously the work of machine calico-printing. Meanwhile the old staple woollen trade continued to flourish. Norwich, where crapes, baize, serges, and other light woollen goods were largely made, went up from 30,000 to 60,000 inhabitants between 1685 and 1760. The increase was great in the West of England clothing district, where most of the fine cloth was still made, but it was in the moorland valleys of the West Riding, where coal was cheap and water-power plentiful, that it received its greatest development. Arkwright's inventions were modified to suit sheep's wool. Leeds, the centre of the coarse cloth trade, and Halifax, the centre of the worsted manufactures, grew enormously.

The iron trade was languishing in its old Surrey and Sussex homes, as even the dense oak woods of the Weald would not supply enough fuel to feed the furnaces. The last great job of the Sussex ironmasters was the railings which still surround St. Paul's in London. But the application of Watt's steam-engine enabled the last difficulties to be overcome in smelting iron with pit-coal. Dr. John Roebuck, whose discoveries had largely made this possible, started in 1760 the Carron Works in Stirlingshire. In 1755 Anthony Bacon started the South Wales iron trade, with the works at Cyfarthfa, near Merthyr. In 1762 the rich and hopeful

Matthew Boulton opened the Soho Works near Birmingham, and in 1772 took the mechanical genius of Watt into partnership with himself, and persevered in extending the use of his inventions, when even Watt nearly gave up in despair. In 1760 Birmingham had at least 50,000 inhabitants, while Sheffield, the centre of the Hallamshire cutlery trade, had 30,000. The rude potteries of North Staffordshire was now improved by the long labours of Josiah Wedgwood, who, in 1763, first produced his cream-coloured *Queen's Ware* (so-called from the patronage of Queen Charlotte), which was followed by his beautiful ornamental works, and painted vases which Flaxman, "the sculptor of eternity," designed for him. In 1785, 15,000 men were employed in the potteries, and five-sixths of the wares made were exported. In 1773 the manufacture of plate glass began in Lancashire. The linen trade grew in Paisley and in the north of Ireland. The French silk weavers still flourished at Spitalfields, and other centres of the silk trade were Coventry, Macclesfield, and Paisley.

3. Better communication was as much needed as machines to make English trade grow. As long as goods could only be carried about by pack-horses along hill paths, or in heavy wagons along infamous roads, only places near could be served. But *turnpike roads* (on which tolls could be levied to provide means for their repair) were now becoming general, and between 1760 and 1774, 452 Acts of Parliament were passed for repairing highways; though the roads were still so bad that it took from Monday night to Wednesday afternoon for a letter to go from Bath to London. The great road between Preston and Wigan was full of "ruts four feet deep, and floating with mud from a wet summer. The only mending it receives is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no purpose but jolting a carriage." Within eighteen miles a traveller passed three broken-down carts. But some roads were being brought into good condition, and many important bridges were now built. By the end of the century roads were so smooth and hard that the fast coaches carrying passengers and mails could go at a very rapid rate. In 1784 the first mailcoach, on Palmer's plan, left London for Bristol. In 1797, 380 towns that had previously had three posts a week, and 40 which had no posts at all, had daily posts, and the mails were often conveyed in a quarter of the time formerly taken.

In the coal-fields, especially in the Tyne district, there were *tramways* or *railways* to carry the coals to the ships. "The

tracks of the wheels are marked by pieces of timber let into the road for the wheels of the wagons to run on, by means of which one horse is able to draw with ease fifty or sixty bushels of coal." In 1767 cast-iron plates were used to cover the wooden rails at the Coalbrook Dale Ironworks, and after 1776 cast-iron rails generally superseded wooden ones.

The greatest improvement in communications was by the construction of canals. In 1720 an Act was passed to make the Irwell navigable up to Manchester, while the opening out of the Aire and Calder navigation did wonders for the trade of the West Riding. The famous Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, called in the assistance of the unlettered but observant engineer, Brindley, to make a canal to convey coal from his collieries at Worsley to Manchester (1761), and afterwards extended it to the Mersey at Runcorn, so as to form a new and certain means of communication between Manchester and Liverpool. "The duke could work on his canal when floods or dry seasons interrupted the navigation of the Mersey. This gave a certainty and punctuality which insured a preference to the canal. The emoluments arising to the duke were not to be mistaken, and, perseverance having vanquished prejudice, the fire of speculation was lighted, and canals became the subject of general conversation." In 1766 Brindley began the Trent and Mersey or Grand Trunk Canal, which included a tunnel 2880 yards long. In 1768 a ship canal between the Forth and the Clyde was projected, though it was not until 1790 that "the union of the two firths was celebrated by the launching of a hogshead of the water of the Forth into the Clyde." A larger ship canal connected Gloucester with the deep waters of the Severn at Berkeley. In 1793 Telford constructed the Ellesmere Canal, which linked Severn, Dee, and Mersey, and crossed the beautiful Dee valley on Pont y Cysyllt by an arched viaduct at a height of seventy-five feet above the river. Gradually the Thames, the Trent, the Severn, and the Mersey were all connected together. In 1801 Telford began the Caledonian ship canal between Inverness and Fort-William. Between 1758 and 1803, 165 canal Acts were passed, and nearly 3000 miles of canals constructed. Canals, furnishing the only means of conveying very heavy goods and pieces of machinery, were to this period what railways were to a later age.

4. The widening of the markets by improved means of communication, the great series of inventions, and the great

increase in the volume of trade, brought about a new and keener spirit of competition, in which only the strongest, wisest, and most cunning survived, while the weaker, lazier, and more sluggish went to the wall. Population increased enormously. Between 1750 and 1801 (when the first census was taken) the population ran up from 6,000,000 to 9,000,000, despite the fact that the rural population was distinctly on the decline.

The old domestic system of manufactures gave way to the *factory system*. Manufactures were now centred in growing towns. Instead of the small master working in his own home with his one or two apprentices and journeymen, the rich capitalist-employer with his army of factory hands grew up. Many of these masters were rough, illiterate, and hard, though shrewd and far-seeing in business. Their workmen gathered from all the country round into new, badly-built, unhealthy brick cottages, and were forced to work for long hours in dark, dirty, and unwholesome workshops. The State did nothing to protect them; the masters only thought of their profits; the national conscience was dead, and unjust laws prevented them combining together in trades unions to help themselves. Women and children were made to work as long and as hard as the men. A regular system grew up of transporting pauper and destitute children to weary factory work. There was no care for their health. There were no schools, and plenty of public-houses. There were few churches and chapels, though the Methodists often did something to prevent the people from falling back into heathendom. The workmen were ignorant, brutal, poor, and oppressed. In hard times distress was widespread, and the workmen naturally listened to agitators and fanatics, or took to violent means of avenging their wrongs. For they had no constitutional means of redress. Even the masters had no votes, as the new towns sent no members to Parliament. The transfer of the balance of population and wealth from the south and east to the north and midlands made parliamentary reform necessary. It also produced a great deal of rivalry between the rich manufacturers and the old landed gentry. As after 1760 the latter class became more and more Tory, so did the former become more and more Radical. And after the Industrial Revolution had been completed, the manufacturers and traders were rapidly getting the better of the old aristocracy.

5. Side by side with the industrial revolution went an *agrarian revolution*. In 1760 a very large proportion

even of arable land was still *common-field*, on which after harvest all householders had the right to turn their cattle, and which were cultivated on the wasteful old three years' system of wheat, fallow, and barley. "Never were more miserable crops seen than the spring ones in the common fields, absolutely beyond contempt." In most parts of the country the farms were small, and cultivated with little skill or capital. "Custom alone," says the famous farmer and traveller, Arthur Young, "has been the guide of the farmer. Deduct from agriculture all the practices that have made it flourishing, and you have the management of small farms." Yet the small farmer, whose home was often the seat of a domestic manufacture, was self-supporting and independent of markets. England was a corn-exporting country up to the middle of the century, and the export of grain was encouraged by a bounty of 5s. a quarter when the price of wheat was under 48s. But the increase of population increased the demand, and a series of great improvements set in in agriculture which largely augmented the supply of food. As early as 1770 the husbandry of Norfolk "had rendered the name of the county famous in the farming world." "Enclosures, marling, an excellent fourfold rotation of crops, the culture of turnips, clover, and rye grass, the granting of long leases, and the division of the country into great farms," were, according to Arthur Young, the chief causes of the improvement of Norfolk agriculture. After Townshend quarrelled with Walpole and gave up politics, he settled down to farm on his estate at Raynham, and his example made the cultivation of the turnip general, and so made it possible to get rid of the wasteful old system of fallows.

After 1760 improvement grew more rapid. Between 1760 and 1770 there were, says Young, "more experiments, more discoveries, and more general good sense displayed in agriculture than in the hundred preceding years." Between 1760 and 1785 Robert Bakewell of Dishley produced the new Leicestershire breed of sheep, "which within half a century spread themselves all over Europe and America," and "gave two pounds of mutton where there was only one before." Bakewell also bred the new "Leicestershire longhorn," or "Dishley breed" of cattle, a "small, clean-boned, round, short-carcased, kindly-looking cattle." The extension of Bakewell's principles to the cattle of the Tees valley by the brothers Colling produced the still more famous "shorthorn" or "Durham" breed.

The Agrarian Revolution.

6. With 1760 began the long series of *Enclosure Acts* that greatly limited common of pasture and almost got rid of the arable common fields; 3000 enclosure Acts were passed during George IV.'s reign, and by the year 1843 seven million acres of land were enclosed under them and turned into private property. The poor lost their common rights, for the newly enclosed land nearly all went to the big landlords. Yet the change was necessary, for, as Arthur Young said, "without enclosures there can be no good husbandry." Yet, despite a greater area of tillage and greater produce from the old farms, England could no longer send abroad any corn, and in 1773 a *Corn Law* was passed which let in foreign corn at a nominal duty when the price of wheat was 48s. a quarter. In 1791 was another corn law which made 54s. the limit of the nominal duty. Yet the price of wheat fluctuated violently. In one year it altered from 56s. to 122s. The average price between 1785 and 1794 was under 50s., while the average between 1795 and 1800 was 87s. Large farms were now growing up in the place of small farms, so that in one place "a single farmer held as one farm the lands that once formed fourteen farms, bringing up respectably fourteen families." The capitalist farmer now came in like the capitalist employer. His gangs of poor and ignorant labourers were the counterpart of the swarm of factory hands. The business of farming was worked more scientifically, with better tools and greater success; but after the middle of the century the condition of the agricultural labourer got no better, and now the great mass of the rural population were mere labourers. For the yeomanry, which in the seventeenth century had been so powerful, was now rapidly disappearing except in out-of-the-way corners, such as the Westmoreland valleys, the isle of Axholme, and some parts of Wales. The growth of the factory system prevented their eking out the produce of their little farms by domestic manufactures, and the enclosure of commons was altogether to their loss. But the great cause of their decline was the political importance attached to land-owning after 1688, which caused great men anxious to rule the country to buy them up at high prices. It paid small capitalists better to invest their property in other ways. So the power of the territorial aristocracy grew, and the land passed into fewer and fewer hands, for the small squire, rustic in garb and speech, who never travelled further than his county town, was swallowed up almost as

completely as the yeomanry. Meanwhile pauperism became more and more a pressing evil, especially after 1782, when *Gilbert's Act* abolished the *workhouse test* (which compelled all who received relief from the rates to go into the half-imprisonment of a poorhouse), and the system of poor law doles in aid of wages was encouraged by the high prices at the end of the century. In 1803 one-seventh of the people was in receipt of poor law relief. In agriculture as in manufactures there was progress. More wealth was accumulated, but it fell into the hands of fewer people. Above all, the widened market caused great fluctuations in demand, and rapid successions of prosperity and distress; but the workmen shared but partially in the prosperity, and were the first to bear the brunt of hard times. What is now called the struggle for existence had become severer. The intense competition of our modern times had set in.

In the midst of the Industrial Revolution, Adam Smith, a Glasgow professor, published in 1776 his *Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which founded the modern school of political economy, and taught that free trade was the best way to make a nation rich. But in 1798 Malthus, a clergyman, published his *Essay on Population*, which showed how all the increased produce did little good when population grew faster than the means to support it. The end of the century was a time of distress for town and country alike.

7. The religious history of the first half of the century centres, as we have seen, round the growth of Latitudinarianism and Deism and the strong reaction of the **The Evangelical Methodist movement.** During the latter half **Movement.** of the century these forces still continued to work. But the most striking feature in religious life was now the *Evangelical Movement*. This was nearly akin to Methodism, and yet is not simply a further growth from it. The earliest Evangelicals, like Hervey, were also Methodists—but the Evangelical Movement was more properly a revival of seventeenth century Puritanism, which affected both the Church and the older Nonconformist bodies. It was Calvinistic in its theology, and therefore strongly out of sympathy with the teaching of Wesley himself. It did not lead to the formation of any new church or sect, but it influenced all the existing ones, and produced as its results a stronger sense of personal religion and a zeal for good works and strong feeling for others, however low a place such acts held in the evangelical scheme. The leaders of

the movement were not learned, but good and self-denying, though in some ways rather narrow in their teaching.

Among the early Evangelicals were Toplady, author of the hymn "Rock of Ages," Grimshaw, Vicar of Haworth, and Berridge, Vicar of Everton. The most famous names connected with later Evangelicalism are William Romaine (1714-1795), who withdrew from Lady Huntingdon's Connexion in 1781 when she practically gave up the Established Church. He wrote the *Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith*, and was the strongest Calvinist of all the Evangelical leaders. Henry Venn (1725-1797), Vicar of Huddersfield, who also left Lady Huntingdon in 1781, wrote the chief devotional book of his school, the *Complete Duty of Man*. Other leaders were John Newton (1725-1807), the converted slave-trader; Thomas Scott (1747-1821), whose *Biblical Commentary* was the standard of his party; Joseph Milner (1744-1797), the author of a *Church History* written from the same standpoint. But the two greatest Evangelicals were laymen, William Cowper (1731-1800), the reformer of English poetry, and William Wilberforce, the Tory member for Yorkshire and friend of William Pitt.

The Evangelicals were specially fond of missionary work. The London Missionary Society (1795), the Church Missionary Society (1799), the Religious Tract Society (1799), and the Bible Society (1802) arose from their teaching. The general establishment of Sunday Schools was another result of the movement. In 1781 Robert Raikes, a printer, started his first school at Gloucester, because, he said, "on Sunday the streets were filled with a multitude of wretches who, having no employment, spent their time in noise and riot, playing at chuck, and cursing and swearing." In 1785 the Sunday School Society was established.

In Scotland there was the same contrast as in England between the prevailing Latitudinarianism and the Puritan reaction from it. The great question in dispute was the lawfulness of private patronage, which had been brought back to the Scotch Church by an Act of Parliament in 1712. In 1733 those who held most strongly the divine right of the people to choose their own ministers followed Ebenezer Erskine, who established a new religious body called the *Associate Presbytery*, which later broke up into two. In 1761 another schism on the same point caused the establishment of the *Relief Presbytery*. There were no more secessions, but the Scotch Church continued divided into the *Moderates* who upheld and the *Evangelicals* who opposed

the law of patronage. The Moderates, led by Dr. Robertson, the historian, the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, had for many years a majority in the General Assembly. They were the Scotch Latitudinarians, and preached

"cauld harangues
On practice and on morals."

"Like Socrates or Antonine,
Or some old pagan heathen,
The moral man they do define,
But ne'er a word o' faith in."

Towards the end of the century the Evangelicals grew much stronger.

8. The eighteenth century saw religious toleration established, though not without fierce opposition. The laws against disbelievers in the Trinity and against Roman Catholics gradually fell into disuse, and the whole temper of the age was against religious persecution. Even the Scotch Episcopalians who would take the oaths to the Protestant Succession were allowed to meet together for worship by the Toleration Act of 1712. But the great mass of that body was Jacobite, and the laws against them were actively enforced until the accession of George III., and not repealed until 1792. Though the *Indemnity Acts* really allowed Dissenters to hold office, the Test and Corporation Acts still remained the law. The attempt of Pelham to relieve the Jews from their disabilities, and the proposed relief to the Catholics in 1780, led to the strongest opposition. The Evangelical movement was unfavourable to the Roman Catholics' claims to emancipation. Yet enlightened men like Pitt saw that they were both just and necessary.

9. The new state of things brought with it many abuses, but good and far-seeing men were trying to get rid of them. The spirit of humanity and philanthropy had begun to shine amidst the rough and brutal manners of the age. This spirit was largely fed from the Methodist and Evangelical movements, but was also a good deal due to that wide sympathy for human suffering and hot indignation against oppression and injustice which were the best side of the teaching of the French freethinkers, which kindled to enthusiasm the polished cynicism of Voltaire, and rose to a white heat in the fervent sentimentalism of Rousseau. In 1802 the first

Religious
Toleration.

Humanitarian-
ism and Phil-
anthropy.

Sir Robert Peel passed the first *Factory Act* for regulating the abuses of the factory system. Though the penal code was still odiously severe, the proportion of executions to convictions for the hundred and fifty crimes for which death was the penalty was growing lower. The practice by which prisoners who refused to plead were to be crushed to death, and the law which made burning the way of putting women traitors to death, were repealed. In 1783 the brutal and riotous procession of London criminals from Newgate to Tyburn was abolished, and executions took place in front of the gaol, where the introduction of the "drop" made hanging much less cruel and uncertain. The loss of the American colonies put an end to the system of selling criminals to the planters, and was succeeded by the much milder punishment of transportation to the desert continent of Australia, where in 1788 the colony of *New South Wales* was founded, largely as a penal settlement.

10. The state of the prisons still continued disgraceful until the self-denying labours of *John Howard* had laid bare their abuses. In 1773 Howard acted as sheriff Howard and the prisons. for Bedfordshire, and found such horrors in the prisons under his charge that he devoted the whole of the rest of his life till his death at Kherson in 1790 to looking into and trying to improve the condition of prisons and hospitals all over Europe.

Howard found "that many prisons are scantily supplied and some almost totally destitute of the necessities of life. No care was taken of the sick. The debtors had no food allowance, and were very often the most pitiable objects in our gaols. The criminals passed their time in sloth, profaneness, and debauchery. Many prisons had no water, and the malignity of the air was such that his clothes were so offensive after a visit to them that in a post-chaise he could not bear the windows drawn up." "Many more prisoners were destroyed by gaol fever than by all the public executions in the kingdom." There was no separation of different classes of criminals, and the gaolers were often cruel tyrants or grasping extortioners. Through Howard's exertions two Acts were passed in 1774 which got rid of the worst abuses, but much still remained to be done.

11. The same growth of a humane spirit called attention to the slave-trade, which in the early part of the century had been simply looked at as an easy way to get rich. One Act of Parliament had declared "that the trade to and

from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the plantations and colonies." Lord Dartmouth (whom the Evangelical poet Cowper celebrated as "one who wears a coronet and prays"), when Colonial Secretary in 1775, refused to allow the mutinous colonies "to check or discourage in any degree a trade so beneficial to the nation." The famous evangelical John Newton continued in command of a slave-ship long after his "conversion." Though Wesley had denounced slavery, Whitefield upheld it strongly.

Movement
against the
Slave-Trade.

The Quakers, who, in 1761, had expelled from their body all occupied in the slave-trade, were almost alone in their hostility to traffic in human flesh. In 1783 a peculiarly horrible case occurred, when the master of a slaver, finding sickness breaking out among his cargo, flung 132 negroes overboard, because, if they died, the loss would fall on the owners, while if they were thrown overboard for safety, the loss fell on the *underwriters* who had insured the ship. But in 1772 Lord Chief-Justice Mansfield had declared that any slave brought to England became at once free, and in 1787 the *Society for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade* was formed, of which Granville Sharp was the president, and Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce were leading members. They wisely avoided attacking slavery, and confined themselves to denouncing the slave-trade. The hardworking and persistent Clarkson collected evidence of the horrors of the "middle passage" from Africa to America, in which nearly half of the negroes stolen from Africa died. In 1788 Pitt promised an inquiry, and *Dolben's Act* was passed to limit the number of negroes carried in slave-ships. Granville Sharp established the colony of Sierra Leone in Western Africa as a refuge for freed slaves. But the outbreak of the French Revolution frightened the richer classes into opposing the movement. The abolition of slavery by the "atheists and anarchists of France" was declared a reason why it should be upheld by England. The support of Pitt and of the Whig leaders was not enough to make up for the hostility of the king and the mass of the Tories. The century ended with the stoppage of a most righteous movement, which in 1788 seemed just about to triumph.

12. Manners were still very rough. Among the upper classes the influence of the first two Georges was not a good one. Popular literature and the stage were often broad and vulgar. The gentry and the lower classes still amused

themselves with bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and back-sword fighting. But even here great improvement set in. Broughton made boxing a science, and his famous rules for the ring did a great deal to spread a rough love of fairplay among the most disorderly classes. Men like John Lawrence, the manly Essex farmer, spoke loudly against that cruelty to animals which Hogarth had held up to shame with his pencil and burin. Horse-racing was brought into greater fashion by the Duke of Cumberland, and the breed of blood horses was again studied with loving care. George IV., when prince, was a great patron of the turf, until his jockey, Sam Chifney, was suspected of having pulled his horse "Escape," and George had to give up racing in some disgrace. Gambling and hard-drinking were still very common, but less so at the end of the century than at the beginning. George III.'s homely and decorous private life had no small influence for good; but its dulness forced his own sons into riotous disorder, and the "first gentleman in Europe," as his flatterers called George IV., set an example of everything bad. The opposition of the "religious party" to all amusements, good or bad, healthful or harmful, did a great deal of harm, and so did the tendency of the Evangelicals to draw a hard and fast line between the "world" and the few "professors."

The tendency of the age was towards the breaking down of hard class distinctions, and the greater easiness of getting about produced a greater likeness in manners between the gentry and tradespeople, and broke down a good deal of the distinction between town and country. "Every male and female," it was complained, "wishes to think and speak, to eat and drink, and dress and live after the manner of people of quality in London." The taste for travelling also grew. Gentlemen finished their education by making the "grand tour" on the Continent. The inland watering-places, Bath, Clifton, Tunbridge Wells, Buxton, Epsom, continued to flourish. In 1738 Cheltenham Spa first came into notice. Towards the end of the century the fashion for sea-bathing set in, and became even more popular than "taking the waters." In 1750 Dr. Richard Russell wrote his book on the advantages of the practice. George III. made Weymouth popular. His eldest son did even more for Brighton. Before the end of the century Cowper complained how

"Your prudent grandmmas, ye modern belles,
Content with Bristol, Bath, and Tunbridge Wells,

When health required it, would consent to roam,
Else, more attached to pleasures found at home ;
But now alike, gay widow, virgin, wife,
Ingenious to diversify dull life,
In coaches, chaises, caravans, and hoys,
Fly to the coast for daily, nightly joys,
And all, impatient of dry land, agree,
With one consent, to rush into the sea."

13. The dress of the upper classes was still very costly and rich. Men dressed in silks and velvets, and wore as many colours as women. Lord Derwentwater went to execution in a scarlet coat, faced with black velvet and trimmed with gold. Even Dr. Johnson, who, as a rule, dressed very simply, put on a scarlet waistcoat, richly laced with gold, and a gold-laced hat in honour of the first night of his play of *Irene*. Wilkes generally showed off his ugly face by a scarlet or green coat. A fashionable highwayman went to Tyburn to be hung dressed in blue and gold. Fox and the Whigs adopted the blue and buff of the "Continental" troops as the Whig party dress and colours. Every physician still wore an enormous wig, and carried a huge silver-mounted cane. Even poor country curates, like Fielding's Parson Adams, always went about in their cassocks. Bishops dressed in "wigs, purple coats, short cassocks, stockings, and cocked hats." "No Minister went down to the House without being full dressed and with his sword by his side." Lord North wore the Order of the Garter so constantly that he was nearly always described in the House of Commons as "the noble lord in the blue ribbon." Noblemen travelled in great pomp with outriders and four horses at least.

The simpler styles of modern dress gradually set in, as a result of the influence of Rousseau, who taught that the equality of men should even extend to their clothes, and believed modern civilisation was a terrible decline from the golden state of nature when all men were brothers. "Dress," says a shrewd observer, "never totally fell, till the era of Jacobinism and equality." Wigs were given up, and the hairdressers bitterly complained of gentlemen who wore their own hair and forced them to work on Sundays in dressing it. Hair powder, which was used after wigs went out, never survived Pitt's tax of a guinea a year in 1795. About 1780 swords went out of fashion. Umbrellas became common, though, like coaches at an earlier date, they were at first disliked as effeminate. A little later tall beaver hats re-

placed cocked hats ; and shoe strings came in instead of silver buckles. Pantaloon and Hessian boots superseded knee-breeches, silk stockings, and shoes. "Peers," complains a lover of old ways, "now dressed like shopkeepers, horse-dealers, and tradesmen, with coloured neckcloths and boots." But though dress got more simple, love of show found other ways to display itself. Old-fashioned people complained that the rich tradesman gave up living over his shop for a suburban villa, and aped in his style of living, his carriages, his travels, and his wife and daughters' dresses, the manners of the landed gentry. With less vain pomp, comfort and refinement grew, and, with high prices, made living much dearer. The radical Horne Tooke complained of the "luxury and corruption that had flowed in like a torrent from our connection with India."

14. Early in the century architecture was the most flourishing of the arts, but later on it declined, while painting, sculpture, and music made great progress.

Architecture. The plain, picturesque, and convenient "Queen Anne" style of domestic architecture has been largely revived in our own day. Queen Anne's Act for building fifty new churches round London gave the pupils of Wren good chances of showing their skill. James Gibbs built St. Martin's-in-the-Fields with its noble portico and graceful spire and the majestic dome of the Radcliffe Library at Oxford. Hawksmoor strove to rival his master in the elegant interior of St. Mary's-Woolnoth. Scores of great houses of vast proportions rose up all over the country, such as Marlborough's splendid palace of Blenheim, near Woodstock, and the Earl of Carlisle's magnificent mansion of Castle Howard, near York, both the work of the eccentric and irregular genius of Vanbrugh. But the English school of classical architecture died away, and the example of Lord Burlington, an elegant but commonplace amateur, brought in meagre imitations of the style of Palladio.

As the century advanced, many hideous and formless brick buildings were run up. Towards the end James Wyatt tried to revive Gothic architecture, which had up to now been looked on almost universally with contempt. But he had neither the knowledge nor the taste for this. He nearly ruined Salisbury Cathedral with his "restorations," and put a commonplace though grandiose palace on the site of the historical castle of Windsor. But the height of bad taste was found in the grotesque and fantastic Pavilion on which the Prince Regent wasted huge sums at Brighton.

15. In painting, the rough but original genius of William Hogarth (1697-1764), whose strong and biting satires give us so vivid a picture of English manners, alone broke the monotony of the weak imitations of Kneller, until the great Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) founded a national school of painting. In 1768 the *Royal Academy* was established with Sir Joshua for its first President. At its yearly exhibitions were seen the vast historic canvases of Benjamin West the Quaker, the poetic landscapes of Richard Wilson, the magnificent portraits of the President, and the charming work of Thomas Gainsborough, equally great in landscape and in portraiture. In sculpture the Frenchman Roubiliac (d. 1762) had the greatest fame of his day, but in the next age Bacon, Banks, Nollekens, and, above all, John Flaxman (1755-1826) established a native British school. The Wedgwoods' pottery claims a place in the history of art as well as in that of industry. The broad and vigorous political caricatures of Gillray and Rowlandson carried on the spirit and the humour of Hogarth. John Boydell, engraver, publisher, and lord mayor, made English engraving admired throughout Europe. Bartolozzi produced his refined etchings and original "red chalk" engravings. The Bewicks brought wood engraving from a low ebb to an extraordinary delicacy and perfection.

16. In music the untimely death of Purcell (1695) cut off the prospect of a great school, but the sound traditions of Anglican church music still lingered on in many a cathedral close, and glees, madrigals, and ballads of great merit were composed. The introduction of the *Italian opera*, though laughed at by Addison as foreign and womanish, brought to England the greatest musician of his time, the Saxon Frederick Handel. Handel lost his health and his fortune as manager of the Opera House, pouring out a whole series of operas, and struggling fiercely against his rival Buononcini. George II. and Queen Caroline stood his firm friends, though Prince Frederick and the whole nobility ran after the poorer operas of the fashionable favourite. Disgusted at his failure, Handel turned to the *Oratorio*, and produced in 1741 his sublime *Messiah*. In London this at first fell flat, but it soon won a popularity that resulted in a wider love of serious music and a higher sense of the aims and dignity of the art. In 1776 the *Concert of Ancient Music* was established to perform "such solid productions of old masters as an intemperate rage for

novelty has too soon laid aside." Out of these famous concerts sprang the *Handel Commemoration* of 1784. But though much good work was done in nearly every branch, the general level of taste and feeling was not very high in any of the arts at the end of the eighteenth century.

17. Literature and language faithfully mirrored back the age. The poets lacked passion and imagination, and were fast bound by self-imposed rules. Their favourite *Literature* metre was the *heroic couplet*, their favourite themes were satire, compliment, and criticism. The tendencies of the time were best expressed in the exquisitely finished and polished verse of Alexander Pope (1688-1744), who towered far above poets such as Prior, Gay, Parnell, not to speak of the swarm of Grub Street hacks that he ridiculed in the *Dunciad*. But in Pope's followers the style which a great artist could ennoble became vapid, commonplace and artificial. The drama declined like poetry. The so-called "Restoration" school died away. Addison's attempt to bring into England the severe and stately forms of the classic French drama led only to his artificial but much quoted *Cato* (1713), and perhaps to Johnson's stilted *Irene* (1749). The sentimental comedy which begins with Steele's *Lying Lover* appealed to the heart more than the head, while the broad farces of Fielding and Foote have no great claim to permanent fame. The last great dramas of the old style were Oliver Goldsmith's (1728-1774) refined and humorous *She Stoops to Conquer*, and the brilliant and epigrammatic *Rivals* (1775) and *School for Scandal* (1777), the fruitful and youthful work of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Whig orator and partisan. But though few great plays were now produced, the drama more than held its own as a popular amusement, and the age of David Garrick, the famous player and manager (1716-1779) marked perhaps the most flourishing period of English acting.

Prose was better now than poetry. The end of the seventeenth century saw the establishment of a standard prose style, polished, easy, idiomatic, forcible, and exact. The English language became much what it still remains, though perhaps there was a leaning towards its Latin and Romance rather than its Teutonic elements. Even the mass of pamphlets and newspapers that reflected the political and theological controversies of the time showed the spread of a good style of writing. The *periodical essay*, which began with Steele's *Tatler* in 1709, became famous when Addison joined him, and reached its height when in 1711 the two

friends began the *Spectator*, which "brought philosophy out of closets, libraries and schools to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and coffee-houses." The *Guardian*, the *Freeholder*, and in a later generation Johnson's *Rambler* and *Idler*, kept up the popularity of essay writing; but under Johnson's hands it lost the lightness of touch which was its greatest charm, and gave place to the magazine, the novel, and the political newspaper. The terrible Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's (1667-1745), wrote the most nervous and robust of English prose, and the keenest and most biting satire on his fellow-men. His last great work, before his mind gave way in his lonely Irish exile, was his famous *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). The greatest men of letters joined in the eager political controversies of the time. Swift fiercely upheld the Tories and the Peace of Utrecht. Against him the polished Joseph Addison wrote his way with his Whig pamphlets to a secretaryship of state. Daniel Defoe, whose immortal *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) showed at its best his marvellous gift for "forging a story and imposing it on the world for truth," wrote on behalf of the Whigs and the Dissenters, and afterwards in his *Review* as the partisan of Harley. The wise and good George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland (1685-1753), carried on the work of John Locke, and answered the English Deists by denying the reality of matter in a style almost perfect for its clearness, strength, and balance.

In the new generation the Novel grew out of the form of the old romance turned to describe real life, and got its full growth in the broad and genial works of Henry Fielding, the sentimental and pathetic writings of Samuel Richardson, the rough but vigorous painting of manners of Tobias Smollett, the quaint humour of Lawrence Sterne, and Oliver Goldsmith's charming idyll, the *Vicar of Wakefield*. Rough, kind, and noble Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), poet, essayist, moralist, critic, and writer of an English Dictionary, was the centre of the literary life of more than one generation, so vividly pictured for us in James Boswell's matchless *Life of Johnson*, and meeting together on one evening a week at the Turk's Head in Soho, in the *Literary Club*, or Johnson's *Club*, as it was often called. History lost in accuracy and depth what it gained in art in the brilliant but superficial *History of England* (1754) of David Hume. It kept a colder but more serious form in the commonplace but much admired works of Principal Robertson, and combined a scholarship that has never

been overthrown with the stateliest, most artificial of styles in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776) of Edward Gibbon. But the eighteenth century cared little for history except as an elegant amusement, and preferred to build up its theories of life and nature without its aid. Hume's greatness as a philosopher is almost the measure of his failure as an historian. From his impulse has flowed nearly all later English thought on the nature of knowledge, and reality, and the character of moral action. Edmund Burke alone of that age knew how deep the roots of the present lie in the past.

A great change came over English thought and literature about the middle of the century. A new school of poetry arose with Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* (1725), and James Thomson's *Seasons* (1730). It received a great stimulus from the revived study of the romantic past which was brought about by the publication of the old ballads contained in Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), and by the renewed study of Chaucer, Shakspeare, and the Elizabethan dramatists, which was first marked by the Shaksperian revival brought about on the stage by Garrick, and in literature by a whole series of commentaries and editions of the greatest of English writers. Even the turgid bombast which Macpherson published in 1762 as the poems of the old Gael Ossian had extraordinary influence from its depicting a free, rugged, unconventional society, and because with much that was forged it included fragments of Highland verse and tradition. The style and subject of poetry equally changed. The way of writing became more varied and natural, and bit by bit poets shook off the bondage of the heroic couplet. Writers again began to revel in country life and in beautiful scenery, and even in the fierce and wild mountains, hitherto objects of horror, which they described with sympathy and enthusiasm. Their view of man became enlarged, widened, and deepened, and they went through the artificialities and conventionalities of society down to the elemental passions of the human heart. The all-pervading influence of Rousseau, himself inspired by English models, was felt here as in politics, in religion, philanthropy, and manners. The new spirit took different shapes in the spontaneous and musical lyrics and living satires in the northern dialect of the Ayrshire farmer, Robert Burns (1759-1796), the delicate humour and pure natural feeling of William Cowper (1731-1800), the stern and realistic pictures of East Anglian village life of George Crabbe (1754-1832), and even the Elizabethan tone

and strange prophetic vision of the long-neglected poet and artist, William Blake (1757-1827). Towards the end of the century it comes to a head in the so-called *Lake School*, of which Wordsworth and Coleridge are the highest types. But before this all the old landmarks were changed by the outbreak of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER IV.

George III. The War against the French Revolution, 1789-1802.

1. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, towards which things had been for a long time drifting. France had become the centre of the destructive and restless eighteenth-century spirit. All the later attacks on the old order of things had come from French men of letters. They had vigorously denounced the many old-fashioned and, as they thought, now useless institutions that had come down from the Middle Ages. They had attacked all authority, all vested interests, everything that could not give some plain reason for existing. *Voltaire* and the *Encyclopædists* (Diderot, D'Alembert, and the other contributors to the famous French *Encyclopédie*) had taught the supremacy of reason, of humanity and common-sense. But *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, a Genevese settled in France, was the chief constructive teacher of the new order. He united much that was most true with all that was most false of the tendency of the times. His warm and credulous enthusiasm, his power of setting forth the current political and social ideals in a clear, brilliant, and fascinating style, gave him an influence over action such as no other man of letters has ever had. He declared that civilisation had obscured the original virtues of the natural man, taught a new sentimental Deism, and a new method of education. He preached with religious fervour a new political gospel of the rights of man and of liberty, equality, and fraternity. He maintained that all government was unlawful that did not depend on the sovereign people.

In some countries royal philosophers, like the Emperor Joseph II. of Russia, and Catharine II. of Russia, had tried to reform their states after the French models. But in France itself

there was no real attempt at political or social reform. The great monarchy of Louis XIV. had decayed hopelessly under the weak and wicked Louis XV. (1715-1774), whose grandson and successor, Louis XVI., though not a bad man, was neither intelligent, hardworking, nor strong enough to set things right. The nobles lived in luxury at Court, and the people were ground down by heavy taxes and oppressive feudal dues, such as working on their lords' fields and mending the highways, or grinding their corn at their lords' mills. This was all the more felt, as the nobles had no political power, and did nothing in return for what they took from the people. The obscure but powerful *intendants* who ruled each province, and the greedy farmers of the taxes, were however equally incompetent and still more hated. The government was corrupt and constantly changing. In the Church, which had lost almost all hold over the nation, rich bishops took the pay, and poverty-stricken curates did the work. The privileged orders paid hardly any direct taxes. Neither they nor the people had any control of the government.

The American war showed that the French state was bankrupt and had spread republican ideas. Things now went so badly that, after every other plan had been tried and failed, Louis XVI. was compelled to summon the Three Estates (which had never met since 1614) at Versailles. This was on 5th May 1789, and was the beginning of the Revolution. Power now fell into the hands of men disgusted with all that existed, with much honest zeal for reform, yet with no practical knowledge how to govern a state, and looking for guidance to the fine-sounding but unreal notions of Rousseau. They at once swept away all the old institutions of France, and built up a new Constitution that made the executive government too weak to keep order, and allowed the Paris mob to become the real ruler. The *Bastille*, the state prison of Paris, was stormed and destroyed on 14th July 1789. The king and the Assembly were driven to Paris by the mob. The Court called for foreign aid, and the nobles fled to Germany. The moderate men were pushed aside in the stress of peril, and the most radical of the revolutionaries got everything into their hands. In 1792 the new Constitution was superseded by a revolutionary government controlled by the *Jacobins*, as the extremists were called, from the club which met in the old Jacobin convent of the Black Friars. The king and queen were now tried and beheaded. Priests and aristocrats were

hunted down ; the Church was disestablished, and Christianity seemed likely to be stamped out. All armed opposition was crushed. This was the period of the *Reign of Terror*.

In 1792 Prussia and Austria went to war against the Revolution, and invaded Lorraine, but were driven out of France by the *Cannonade of Valmy*. It soon became a war of opinion and ideas. A fervid spirit of propagandism inspired the French governments and armies. Their extraordinary vigour, self-sacrifice, faith, and energy led to victory, and the soldiers of the Revolution were everywhere welcomed as liberators in the lands they invaded.

2. At first most Englishmen looked on the Revolution with favour, thinking that the French were going to make their government very much like the English. The political societies, which had slept since the decline of the Wilkes agitation, revived and became active supporters of it. The *Revolution Society* hoped that France would "encourage other nations to assert the rights of mankind, and introduce a general reformation into the governments of Europe." Fox thought that the capture of the Bastille was "the greatest and best event that ever happened in the world." On the other hand, Burke saw quite early that the Revolution was conducted "in a spirit well calculated to overturn states, but perfectly unfit to amend them." In November 1790 he published *Reflections on the French Revolution*, followed by his *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*. Tom Paine answered him in his rough but vigorous *Rights of Man*; and James Mackintosh, an accomplished and rising Whig, in his more refined *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*. Smug self-satisfied William Godwin's *Political Justice* (1793), and his wife, the enthusiastic Mary Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Women*, also expressed the revolutionary spirit.

Effects of the
French Revolution
on England,
1789-94.

"While quacks of state must each produce his plan,
And even children lisp the *Rights of Man*."

Burke gave the tone to the mass of English opinion. A few dreamers still upheld the Revolution, such as Robert Burns, the Scotch poet, and William Wordsworth, then a young man fresh from Cambridge, who soon got disgusted, and turned Tory. It was feared that the distressed factory hands would listen readily to Jacobin agitators. But though want of bread produced riots, and "trees of liberty," after the French fashion, were planted at Dundee and Sheffield, there was little deep sympathy with the French

anywhere, and the Birmingham Tory mob burnt the library of the famous chemist, Dr. Priestley, who was forced to seek peace and freedom in America. All who respected the old constitution, revered the Established Church, or valued property, joined in Burke's cry, "Flee from the French Revolution," and rallied round George and Pitt in the struggle against it. The old party lines were blotted out, and a new and anti-revolutionary Toryism took hold of the Whigs who followed Burke. A faithful few still adhered to Fox, but they were powerless in a church-and-king parliament, and unpopular in the country. In 1794 Pitt strengthened the ministry by adding to it Portland, Fitz-William, and some of the Whigs of the school of Burke. Fear of anarchy drove him into new courses far from his old liberal leanings. He ceased to support Parliamentary Reform. He suspended the *Habeas Corpus Act*. He put down even lawful agitation with a strong hand, prosecuted a Scotchman named Muir for spreading Tom Paine's books, and tried, though in vain, to convict for treason the four Radical leaders Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and Joyce. He became the advocate of coercion and repression, thinking it no time to mend the constitution when its very existence was in danger.

3. On 21st January 1793 Louis XVI. was executed, and Pitt at once sent away the French ambassador. France answered by declaring war on 1st February. **England's share in the War against the Revolution, 1793-97.** "It will be a long and dangerous war" was Burke's true prophecy. Pitt, so successful as a peace minister, proved much less capable of carrying on a long war. He showed indeed abundant energy, formed a great Coalition against the French, and lavished vast subsidies on his allies. But he did not grasp how hard the struggle was, and the generals who carried out his policy were often dull and incapable. Nothing could stop the enthusiasm and energy of the French. They conquered the Austrian Netherlands and Germany on the left bank of the Rhine. They occupied Holland, expelled George's cousin, the Stadtholder, and defeated George's second son, Frederick, Duke of York, a foolish man and incompetent general. They conquered Savoy and Nice from the King of Sardinia. They put down the heroic Royalist and Catholic revolts in La Vendée and Brittany. In 1795 Prussia, Spain, and some of the smaller states were frightened into peace, and Holland (now a republic under French control) and Spain actually joined

the war against England. As the *Reign of Terror* of the Jacobins was now succeeded by the more moderate government of the *Executive Directory* established by the *Constitution of the Year III.* (Oct. 1795), Pitt himself entered into peace negotiations (1796). But they broke down, and zealots like Burke rejoiced that a "regicide peace" had failed. In 1796 a new French leader arose in a young Corsican artillery officer, Napoleon Buonaparte, a protégé of the old Jacobin leader, Robespierre, who, in a campaign of unexampled brilliancy and success, drove the Austrians out of Italy, and forced them to save themselves by the *Treaty of Campo Formio* (1797), which left Italy to the French, and arranged for a conference to settle Germany.

Affairs in England had now become critical. In 1795 an expedition to *Quiberon Bay*, to help the Breton insurgents, failed. In 1796, though their expedition to Ireland was dispersed by a storm, some French managed to land near Fishguard, in South Wales. They surrendered the next day to Lord Cawdor's militia, but they proved how easy an invasion was. On 14th February 1797 Sir John Jervis won a great victory over the Spaniards off *Cape St. Vincent* (for which he was made Lord St. Vincent), which showed that England could still hold her own at sea. Yet the navy was so badly looked after, that the sailors grew discontented with their scanty rations of unwholesome food, and their pay, which had remained the same since the days of Charles II. In May formidable mutinies broke out at Spithead and the Nore. They were soon put down. The ringleader, Richard Parker, an able and educated man, was hanged, but the worst abuses were abolished. The mutinous crews went back to duty, and, under the popular Admiral Duncan, beat the Dutch off *Camperdown* (Oct. 1797.) Earlier in the year the drain of gold from England to pay the allies had produced a *Monetary Crisis*, in which many merchants, though holding much property, could not pay their debts, because there was not enough gold and silver in the country to meet them. This was only set right by the Bank of England *suspending cash payments*—that is, refusing to give gold to any one who took its notes to the Bank.

4. The treaty of Campo Formio left England to fight France single-handed. Lazare Hoche, the brilliant young conqueror of La Vendée, planned an invasion of Ireland to help the United Irishmen. The victorious army of Buonaparte, now called the army of England, also threatened invasion, though probably

Buonaparte
in Egypt,
1798-1801.

only as a blind to cover a projected attack on Egypt. On 18th May 1798 Buonaparte set sail from Toulon. He took Malta from the unoffending Knights of St. John, won two great victories over the *Mamelukes* (Memlooks or Slave Princes, nominal vassals of Turkey), and conquered all Egypt, which he saw to be the key to the East and the highway to India, where Tipú Sultan was waging war on his behalf against the English. His head was filled with all sorts of wild schemes, to conquer Turkey, to destroy the English in India, and finally to take Europe in the rear.

A part of Lord St. Vincent's fleet was now sent away under Sir Horatio Nelson, the ablest and most resourceful of rising seamen, who had already brilliantly distinguished himself at the battle of St. Vincent, with orders to follow the French ships.

On 1st August Nelson found them anchored in the Bay of Aboukir, close inshore, with a shoal behind them and protected by strong batteries. He resolved to place part of his fleet between the French and the shore, for "where the French ships had room to swing, the English ships had room to anchor." Five vessels succeeded in carrying out this clever manœuvre, and attacked the French from within, while the remainder of Nelson's fleet attacked them from seaward. The battle began at sunset and raged through the whole night. The *Orient*, the flag-ship of Admiral Brueys, blew up with a terrific explosion. Nelson himself was severely wounded, but by daybreak eleven of the thirteen French ships of the line had been destroyed or captured. The two remaining escaped in the morning. "Were I to die at this moment," wrote Nelson, "*want of frigates* would be found stamped on my heart." But for this all the French transports would have been destroyed.

The battle of the Nile secured England the mastery over the Mediterranean, and ended Buonaparte's schemes of Eastern conquest. He invaded Syria and mixed up France in war with Turkey. But Acre was defended by Sir Sidney Smith, one of Nelson's captains. In 1799 the fall of *Seringapatam* destroyed the power of his ally, Tipú Sultan, of Mysore. On 22d August 1799 Buonaparte left his troops to shift for themselves, and escaped to France in a fast cruiser. Troops from England and India now poured into Egypt, and the British won the *Battle of Aboukir*, though it cost the life of the general, the humane and religious Abercromby. It led to the Convention of Cairo (1801), by which Egypt was evacuated and restored to the Turks.

5. While Buonaparte was absent in Egypt, the general war had been renewed in Europe. The Conference at Rastadt to settle German affairs broke up in confusion, and a second Coalition was formed in

which Austria and Russia were with England the chief members. Prussia selfishly held aloof. The brilliant campaign of 1799 restored Germany, Switzerland, and Italy to the allies, and France was threatened with invasion. But Buonaparte now came back to the scene. On 9th November (18th Brumaire in the new 'Revolutionary Calendar' of France) he abolished the Directory by force, and got a new constitution (*the Constitution of the year VIII.*) passed, by which he was made First Consul with despotic power, and the sovereignty of the people reduced to a sham. The Revolution was thus ended by a military despotism of the greediest and most sordid character. But Napoleon infused new vigour into the French administration, and won the support of the conservative elements of French society, now quite sick of revolutions. He detached Russia from the Coalition, crossed the Alps by the great Saint Bernard, and crushed the Austrian army on the plains of *Marengo*, 14th June 1800. This victory restored Italy to the French, and on 3d December the republican general Moreau's victory of *Hohenlinden* led to their triumph in South Germany. Despairing of further resistance the Austrians signed the *Treaty of Lunéville*, and recognised all the French conquests (1801). Meanwhile the eccentric Czar Paul I. formed a new *Armed Neutrality* of the Northern powers against England. Sweden, Denmark, and even Prussia joined. An English fleet was sent to the Baltic, though pedantic regard to seniority put Nelson second to a very ordinary chief, Sir Hyde Parker. But the *Battle of Copenhagen* (2d April 1801) resulted from Nelson's energy, and compelled the Danes to give up their fleet and allies. The emperor Paul was now murdered by a gang of courtiers, and Alexander I., the next Czar, was not such a friend of the French. A few English concessions caused him to drop the great principle of the neutral powers that the "flag covers the cargo." This put an end to Napoleon's hopes of overthrowing the English naval supremacy.

6. Pitt was no longer minister. He offended the king by his zeal on behalf of the Irish Catholics, and resigned office in the spring of 1801. His cousin, Lord Grenville (younger son of George Grenville), his most intimate friend, Dundas, and Windham—all the first-rate men—followed him. Speaker Addington, a dull and incapable Tory, made what sort of government he could with the rank and file of Pitt's old ministers. Though refusing to hold office, Pitt would not break up the party or join the Whigs in attacking the new ministry. But the excitement of the change brought back the king's insanity, though under Dr. Willis's care he now again recovered.

7. Pitt's retirement made it less hard for Addington to negotiate for peace. Every one was wearied with the war, which was now fought to little purpose, as the French could not prevent the English conquering their colonies, nor the English prevent the constant aggressions of Napoleon on the Continent. Napoleon

The War of the Second Coalition, 1799-1801.

The Addington Ministry, 1801-4.

The Peace of Amiens.

refused to allow the English to interfere with his continental designs; and their tame agreement made peace quite easy, though a peace which ignored the whole question of the balance of power on the Continent could only be a temporary truce. On 25th March 1802 the *Treaty of Amiens* was concluded on the following terms:—

(a) England was to restore to France and her allies all her conquests except Trinidad, conquered from Spain, and Ceylon, conquered from the Batavian Republic (Holland). (b) Turkey was to be included in the peace, and to lose no territories. (c) Malta (recently conquered by England from France) was to be restored to the Knights of St. John.

The wars against the French Revolution were thus, like the Revolution itself, at an end, though not before the old society was almost shattered, and the old political balance of Europe, already rudely assailed by the grasping selfishness of Frederick the Great, completely overthrown by Buonaparte. England had struggled bravely and constantly, and, under Pitt, had “weathered the storm,” but had paid a heavy price by losing much of her liberty, and suffering much distress from high prices and heavy war taxes.

CHAPTER V.

Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.

1. During the first half of the eighteenth century the absolute *Protestant Ascendancy* established by William III.'s victories went on. A *Penal Code* was bit by bit drawn up which took away from Irish Roman Catholics nearly everything that made life worth living. The Catholic worship was never wholly put down, but the priests were registered, and ordered to take an *abjuration* oath which their Church thought sinful. *Non-juring* priests and all bishops, monks, and friars were felons liable to death, and were therefore at the mercy of any informer. Priest-hunting became a trade, and the Roman Catholic bishops were forced to lurk in disguise out in the bogs or on the mountains.

No Catholic could hold any office or vote at any election. No Catholic could be a sheriff, a member of Parliament, a barrister, an attorney, or a gamekeeper, and in most towns corporation by-laws shut him out from the higher branches

of trade. He could not bear the sword which was the mark of a gentleman without a licence that was hard to get. If he owned horses, any Protestant could force him to sell them for five pounds apiece. He could not send his children to a school of his own faith, either at home or abroad. He could not hold land by lease for more than thirty-one years, and if the profit was more than one-third of the rent, the lease could be handed over to the Protestant who found it out. If the son of a Catholic landlord turned Protestant, he could turn his father's estate into a rentcharge for life, and secure the succession over his brothers. To prevent Catholics holding large estates, their lands were equally divided at their death among their children. A still coarser inducement to turn Protestant was the system of *Charter Schools* started in 1733 to "rescue the souls of thousands of poor children from the danger of Popish superstition and idolatry, and their bodies from the miseries of idleness and beggary." But "such was the bigotry of the deluded people that nothing but absolute want could prevail on them to suffer their children to receive an education which endangered their salvation." Only in times of famine were the Charter Schools filled.

The Catholics were described by Lords-Lieutenant as the "common enemy." The best and bravest found in the service of foreign kings the career foolishly and cruelly denied them at home. The rest lived out a hopeless and spiritless life in their native land. Yet they clung bravely to their faith, and the country was covered with mass-houses and swarming with priests, for the penal laws were too wicked to be fully carried out even by the tyrants that had passed them.

2. In every other way the state of the peasantry was very wretched. The land was owned almost altogether by Protestants, who were too often either absentee The Land grandees or wasteful and poverty-stricken System. squireens. To save trouble the larger landlords let out their land to middlemen, and there were often three or four of these between the owner and the actual tiller of the soil. In the richer districts there were large grazing farms which did very well, but gave little work to labourers. But a large mass of the soil was let out in patches of a few acres to miserable *cottiers*, who paid everything away in rent, except what barely kept them and their large families alive. Thrift, industry, foresight were impossible under such a system. "What with the severe exactions of rent, of the

parish clergyman, who, not content with the tithe of grain, exacts even the very tenth of the potatoes ; of the Catholic priest, who comes armed with the terrors of damnation, and demands his full quota, the poor reduced wretches have hardly the skin of a potato left them to subsist on." "The high-roads throughout the south and west are lined with beggars, who live in cabins of such shocking materials that you may see the smoke ascending from every inch of the roof, and the rain drops on the half-naked, shivering, and almost half-starving inhabitants within." "The landlords get all that is made off the land, and the peasants poverty and potatoes." "For," says Dean Swift, "it is the usual practice of the Irish tenant rather than want land to offer more than he knoweth he can ever be able to pay ; in that case he groweth desperate and payeth nothing at all." "The Irish tenants," said Swift again, "lived worse than English beggars." As the century grew older their troubles increased, for in 1735 pasture-lands were practically relieved from tithe, and the landlords turned their land into pasture. The cottiers were driven to the mountains of Kerry and Connaught, whence they wandered in the summer in search of work to pay their rents. There were few factories to take away the people from the land. The English Parliament, moved by the English merchants, who were afraid of Irish competition, had put down the Irish woollen trade. The Navigation Acts still crippled Irish commerce, and the linen-trade of Ulster was of itself not enough to give work to the landless poor. There was a large number of Protestant emigrants, but few Catholics now left their native land.

3. The Irish Protestants were not without their grievances. The Presbyterians settled in Ulster were shut by a Test Act out of all offices under the Crown, Grievances of the Protestants. though they had in the *Regium Donum* a small State endowment for their Church, and their common interests with the Established Church as a Protestant minority made their position much better than that of English Dissenters. But all Irish Protestants bitterly resented the ascendancy which England had over all Irish affairs. *Poyning's Act*, passed in the reign of Henry VII., and strengthened by a *Declaratory Act* of George I., provided that no law should be brought forward in the Irish Parliament until it had been approved by the English Privy Council. The English Parliament constantly passed laws binding on Ireland ; for example, the Act which finally put down the woollen trade, from which the wealthy Pro-

testants of course suffered most. Most of the revenue of the Crown in Ireland was hereditary, and outside the control of the Irish Parliament. The Irish Parliament was in some ways in greater need of reform than the English. More than half its members were returned by proprietors of boroughs. There was no Septennial Act, Mutiny Act, or *Habeas Corpus* Act. George II.'s Parliament sat all through his reign without re-election.

The chief posts in Church and State were always given to Englishmen. Friends of the Government who were too bad to be helped in England got pensions and places in Ireland. The Established Church was used as a political means of upholding the English connection, and did its spiritual work so badly that the poorer Protestants got little good from it. Dean Swift speaks with bitter scorn of the way in which Church patronage was abused. "Excellent and moral men have been selected on every vacancy. But it unfortunately has uniformly happened that as these worthy divines crossed Hounslow Heath to take possession of their bishoprics, they have been regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that common, who seized upon their robes and patents, come over to Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead." "A true Irish bishop," says one of their own order, "has nothing more to do than to eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die." Yet of one important district it was said: "In many parishes the churches are wholly demolished, and several clergymen have each of them four or five. They commonly live in Dublin, leaving the conduct of their Popish parishioners to priests of their own persuasion."

4. There were brighter sides to Irish life. Neighbourly good feeling often prevented Protestants from putting the Penal Code into force. There was often kindly fellowship even between landlords and tenants, for the worst oppressors were not so much the large landowners as greedy middlemen of low rank, often Catholics, and as ignorant as the peasantry they ground down. With all their poverty Arthur Young found the "common Irish voluble, cheerful, and lively; as spiritedly active in play as lazy in work; hospitable, despite their poverty, to all comers; warm friends, hard drinkers, great liars, but civil, submissively obedient, and great dancers." There was considerable intellectual activity here and there among the better class of Irish Protestants; and even with the natives Arthur Young notes the hedge schools and schools

Better aspects
of Irish
Society.

for men who were being brought up as priests. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, the greatest of English satirists, found his eagerest and most devoted readers in Ireland. Berkeley, the great philosopher, was Bishop of Cloyne. Francis Hutcheson, the founder of the "Scotch" philosophy, was an Irish Presbyterian. Burke, the wisest of Whig statesmen, Goldsmith, poet and novelist, and Sterne, the humorist, all came from Ireland. In 1731 the *Dublin Society* was established to promote the arts, manufactures, and husbandry of Ireland.

Dublin was still the second city in the empire, with about 120,000 inhabitants. Its Parliament House, Four Courts, and other public buildings, were magnificent, and its University was, in Chesterfield's opinion, better than those of England. The agreeable and hearty society of Dublin was contrasted strongly by Arthur Young with the brutality and recklessness of "the little country gentlemen, your fellows with round hats edged with gold, who hunt in the day, get drunk in the evening, and fight the next morning." Handel chose to bring out his *Messiah* in Dublin rather than in London. The theatres were as good as those of London itself. Belfast was, says Young, "a well-built town of brick, lively and busy, with 15,000 inhabitants." Cork had a population of 70,000.

5. The local government of Ireland was carried on by the *grand juries* of gentry, who had much the same powers as quarter sessions in England. The central government was in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, his Chief Secretary, the Irish Privy Council, and the permanent officials that collectively made up *Dublin Castle*, though all were subject to the control of the English cabinet. But the Lord Lieutenant, always a great English nobleman, only lived in Ireland during the short sessions of the Irish Parliament every other year. When he was away his place was filled by *Lords Justices*, who were generally great ecclesiastics like Primates Boulter and Stone, or the chief owners of Irish boroughs, such as the Ponsonbys and the Beresfords, who, in return for a large share of patronage, undertook to carry on the king's business, and were therefore called *Undertakers*. Hence there was for a long time hardly any opposition in the Irish Parliament to Government measures.

6. There was a strong and growing disgust at the English Government and their Irish agents. The Catholics at first had no share in this. Even in 1715 and 1745 the Jacobite

The System of
Irish Govern-
ment.

revolts could not rouse them out of the hopeless state into which they had fallen. In 1698, Molyneux, member for Dublin University, and a friend of the English philosopher Locke, became the first spokesman of the Protestant opposition in his famous tract, the *Case of Ireland*, which the English Parliament burnt.

Growth of a
Protestant
Opposition
in Ireland,
1698-1760.

In 1722 an attempt to reform the copper coinage of Ireland caused a great outburst of feeling. There was no mint in Ireland, and it had been the custom to grant patents to private people, allowing them to issue the necessary coins. An English ironmaster named William Wood got a contract to coin £10,000 worth from George I.'s mistress, the Duchess of Kendal. The half-pence Wood issued were good weight, and better than the old coins; but many Irishmen believed that there was a scheme to drain the country of its gold and silver, and leave it nothing but a debased copper currency. In 1724 Dean Swift lashed the nation into fury against the Government in his brilliant but unscrupulous *Drapier's Letters*, which, though professedly anonymous, were generally known to be by him. He claimed, like Molyneux, independence for the Irish Parliament. The storm rose so high that Carteret, then Lord-Lieutenant, could not allay it. The patent was cancelled by Walpole, and for the first time the Irish opposition triumphed.

Charles Lucas, a crippled Dublin apothecary, carried on the agitation of the independent Protestants. In 1753 the opposition triumphed in the Irish House of Commons under the leadership of Speaker Boyle and Prime Sergeant Malone. In 1759 Henry Flood, the great orator, entered the Irish Parliament.

7. After the accession of George III. a great change occurs. The Catholic peasantry, goaded to desperation by injustice and poverty, formed into gangs called *Whiteboys*, from the shirts they wore over their clothes as a disguise, or *Levellers*, because they levelled the new enclosures of commons. They houghed cattle, shot landlords, levied blackmail, and wrought all sorts of outrages in the south. Stern repressive laws known as the *Whiteboy Acts* were passed year after year to put them down. But even in the north the *Oakboys* and the *Hearts of Steel* broke out into similar lawlessness. Meanwhile George III. sent over Lord Townshend as Lord Lieutenant to assert the rights of the Crown and to break up the ring of Under-

Ireland imi-
tates America,
1767-79.

takers which reminded George of the Whig connection in England (1767). But in Ireland as in England the attack was unskillfully carried out, and only further inflamed the Irish Protestants. They saw they were being treated just like the Americans, and resolved to follow American methods to get their grievances removed. A young orator, Henry Grattan, now became the Irish Chatham. On the pretext of warding off invasion, bands of *volunteers* were enrolled among the Protestants. The brave and ardent Lord Charlemont put himself at their head, and by the end of 1779 they were 50,000 strong. The merchants of Dublin now drew up a non-importation agreement, which pledged them to use no English goods. In 1779 Parliament declared itself for free trade, and granted supplies for six months only. Lord North quailed before the storm, and hurried bills through the English Parliament, conceding the chief commercial demands of the patriots.

8. In February 1782 a representative Convention of Volunteers met at Dungannon in imitation of the Congress at Philadelphia. With one accord they accepted a resolution drawn up by Grattan—

“That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to bind this kingdom is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.”

This was a declaration of legislative independence against England, and Grattan made his attack still more terrible by taking into partnership the dumb millions of Irish Catholics. In 1778 a first *Catholic Relief Bill* was carried, and now another was proposed. “I give my consent to it,”

cried Grattan, “because as the mover of the Declaration of Rights, I should be ashamed of giving freedom to but 600,000 of my countrymen when I could extend it to 2,000,000 more.” On 16th April he carried his *Declaration of Independence* through both Houses without a single dissentient. The Rockingham ministry said nothing against these daring claims. In May Fox persuaded the English Parliament to repeal the Declaratory Act of George I. But Flood was still dissatisfied, and clamoured for “simple repeal.” The volunteers ranged themselves round Flood, and they, and not Dublin Castle, were the real rulers of Ireland. Next year fear wrung from England an Act renouncing all authority over Ireland, in the most explicit terms.

Legislative
independence
of Ireland
vindicated,
1782.

9. By the constitution of 1782 Ireland was put in the same relation to England as Scotland had been between 1603 and 1707. The only common bond was the Crown. "Grattan's Parliament" was as supreme and omnipotent as the chambers at Westminster. But the administration of Ireland remained in English hands, and was made secondary to English objects. Hence the great object of Lords-Lieutenant and their Chief Secretaries was to get together a Parliament which would "support the English Government." Flood and Charlemont were not satisfied so long as this was possible, and a Volunteer Convention met in Dublin to support Flood's proposal of parliamentary reform. A claimant for the leadership of the extreme party was found in Frederick Hervey, Earl of Bristol and bishop of the rich see of Derry. He was a man of strange and eccentric character, "full of spirits and talk, and displaying the self-complacency of a French marshal rather than the grave deportment of a prelate." "We must have blood," was his cry before the Convention. But the Irish Parliament refused to be coerced; Grattan himself voted with the Government.

*Ireland under
Grattan's
Parliament,
1782-1800.*

The Catholic question now dissolved the remnant of power of the Volunteers. Flood and Charlemont were willing to repeal the Penal Code, but would give no military or legislative power to the Catholics, for they saw that this would "totally break the connection with England, and make Ireland a Catholic country." Their political ideal was a free Protestant aristocracy independent of England, and treating kindly its Catholic dependants. Grattan would, however, have gladly seen the Catholic gentry in Parliament, and in this Pitt agreed with him. Pitt also wished to throw open to Irish traders the whole commerce of England, receiving in return some contribution from Ireland to the general expenses of the empire. But, in 1785, this scheme failed through the jealousies of English traders and the touchiness of the Irish Parliament. For the next few years the government of Ireland remained in English hands, and a system of bribery and jobbery grew up by which the Government maintained a majority in the unreformed Irish Parliament. Yet under the new constitution Ireland grew richer and more prosperous. Dublin was adorned with more magnificent public buildings. A bounty on exported corn counteracted the old tendency towards pasture, and made Ireland again an arable country. The linen trade rapidly increased. The Penal Code was bit by

bit repealed. But nothing was done to grapple with the deeper evils which the land system continued to produce. The population grew, and the cottiers' position did not improve. The Irish Parliament was full of eloquence, but it had a strong dislike to do too much.

10. The outbreak of the French Revolution was warmly welcomed by the Presbyterians of the north, and the Free-thinkers in the great towns. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a daring and zealous young Protestant lawyer, started in 1791 the first *Society of United Irishmen*. Its professed object was "to unite the whole people of Ireland, to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter," to clamour for parliamentary reform, and complete Catholic emancipation. But Tone looked on all this as a means "to subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, break the connection with England, and assert the independence of my country." Other leaders of the United Irishmen were James Napper Tandy, Thomas Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, the friend of the English Whigs, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald (brother of the Duke of Leinster, the first nobleman in Ireland), who had become a warm follower of Rousseau, and admirer of the French Revolution. In a few years the United Irishmen extended their organisation all over Ireland, the central control of the society being in the hands of a secret *Executive Directory* of five members. In opposition to them the extreme Protestants formed the counter organisation of the *Orange Lodges*, so called after the "deliverer," William III.

11. Between the revolutionaries and the bigots stood the Catholic party, representing the mass of Irishmen.

The Catholics had had since 1782 a *Central Committee* at Dublin to look after their interests. Their position was a strong one, as Pitt sympathised with them, and the United Irish bade heavily for their help. The educated Catholics looked to the Government for support, while the ignorant masses fell blindly into the plans of the United Irishmen. The confusion was increased by the want of settled policy of the Government, where the liberal instincts of Pitt, and the prejudices of strong Protestants, like Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, the Irish Chancellor, asserted themselves in turn. In 1793 the Irish Parliament was forced by the Government to pass a great *Catholic Relief Act*, which gave

The French
Revolution and
the United
Irishmen.

Catholic
Emancipation
and Parliamen-
tary Reform.

Catholics the franchise without the right of being returned members. This made it still harder to get Parliamentary Reform, because it was now seen that the Protestant ascendancy depended on keeping up the rotten boroughs. In 1794 the Whig Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Fitzwilliam, an engaging and attractive man, tried and failed in his policy of conciliation. He turned out the notorious Beresford from a commissionership of the revenue, and frightened every jobber and place-hunter in Ireland. Fitzgibbon now persuaded the king that he would break his coronation oath if he let Catholics sit in Parliament. As a result Grattan's Reform Bill was rejected; and Fitzwilliam was superseded by Lord Camden. The Catholic Committee dissolved itself, and the United Irishmen prepared for a revolution.

12. Tone and Lord Edward now fled to the Continent, and arranged with the French general, Lazare Hoche, that an army of French Free-thinkers should come to the help of the Catholic Irish, though The Rebellion
of 1798. little came from this. But the popularity of the rebel leaders with the peasantry soon turned the northern Protestants on to the side of the Government, and when the war broke out in 1798 it was a regular religious war of Protestant and Catholic.

The Government showed great vigour, and a stern but almost necessary cruelty in disarming the disaffected peasantry. Unluckily the lack of regular troops forced it to allow a Protestant *yeomanry* to be established, which took advantage of the chance to wreak its hatred on the wretched Catholics. General Lake disarmed Ulster and prevented a rising there, and the prompt arrest of Lord Edward and other leaders deprived the rising of its heads. In May 1798 the rebellion broke out in Leinster. The attempt to raise the neighbourhood of Dublin proved a failure, but in Wexford a great army of peasants assembled under the leadership of some helpless local leaders and one or two zealot priests. For some time they commanded the country, and worked much cruel revenge on many of their Protestant tyrants; but they were badly armed and led, and could not hold their own against regular troops. Lake stormed their fortified camp on *Vinegar Hill*, near Enniscorthy, and the rebel army broke up into small bands, which bit by bit melted away.

It was now the turn of the yeomanry to avenge the crimes of the rebels by misdeeds equally wanton and hideous. So thoroughly were the Irish put down that when General

Humbert with some French troops landed in August at Killala in Connaught, very few joined him, and though he easily put the militia to flight at *Castlebar Races*, he soon surrendered.

13. The rebellion still raged when Lord Cornwallis, formerly general of the English army in America, succeeded Lord Camden as Lord-Lieutenant. He did his best to prevent the two races from flying at each other's throats. Like Pitt he believed that

The Union, 1800.

Ireland could only be justly ruled by men free from the prejudices of Irish parties, held that the rebellion had proved the failure of the government of the Protestant minority, and considered the true solution of the difficulty to be the Parliamentary Union of England and Ireland. He and Pitt believed that Catholic emancipation should immediately follow the Union, and even urged that some sort of State support should be found for the Catholic clergy. They therefore regarded the Union as only the first step in pacifying Ireland. To the Catholics such a scheme would have been welcome, but the ruling Protestants were strenuously opposed to it as destructive of all their privileges. In the session of 1799 the Government was defeated in the House of Commons. The chief supporters of the Union were Lord Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary, now first rising into note, and the Chancellor Lord Clare. Grattan, Ponsonby, Curran, Plunket, were all violent against it. "I will resist it," cried Plunket, "to the last gasp of my existence and with the last drop of my blood, and when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal, take my children to the altar and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom." But Ponsonby's resolution pledging the House to "maintain the undoubted birthright of Ireland, an independent Parliament," was withdrawn. Before the session of 1800 a good deal was done towards winning over opinion and votes. The non-represented Protestants were lukewarm; the Catholics were hopeful, and direct or indirect Government corruption won over the borough-owners, the lawyers, and the Dublin tradesmen. In vain Grattan, who had not been in Parliament for several years, bought a seat, and appeared in the dress of the old Volunteers to thunder against the scheme. The *Act of Union* was carried by 46 votes. It proved however but an imperfect measure, since Pitt's scheme of Catholic emancipation to follow it was deferred through the obstinacy of George III.

The terms of the Union were (a) The separate Parliament of Ireland was abolished; (b) 4 Irish bishops and 28 Irish temporal lords elected for life were to sit in the House of Lords for the United Kingdom; (c) 100 Irish members, two for each shire, the rest for the boroughs, elected under the old system, were to sit in the United House of Commons; (d) a large number of Irish boroughs was disfranchised, and a million and a quarter paid as compensation to the borough owners, whose opposition was thus bought off; (e) Irish peers were allowed, unlike those of Scotland, to sit for English constituencies in the House of Commons, and only one new Irish peer was to be created when three Irish peerages became extinct, until the number was reduced to 100. Twenty-two new peerages were also now created, besides other honours, and 5 Irish lords were made peers of the United Kingdom, and others advanced to higher titles; (f) absolute free trade was established between Ireland and Great Britain; (g) Ireland was to contribute two-fifteenths to the revenue of the United Kingdom, and the debts of the two countries were to be kept apart; (h) the Irish Church and the Irish army were to be united to those of England, but the separate judicial system of Ireland, the Lord-Lieutenancy, and "Dublin Castle" remained as before.

CHAPTER VI.

George III. The Struggle against Napoleon, 1803–1815; the Regency, 1810–1820.

1. Napoleon had not meant the peace to last. He only wanted a short breathing-time while he built up his great fabric of despotism. But he soon fancied himself so strong that he did not care much what England did. He had now made his peace with the Pope by the *Concordat*, and had restored the Roman Catholic Church in France. He seized Piedmont and Parma, and sent his soldiers to occupy Switzerland. He was safe from the German side, as Prussia and Austria were angrily disputing about their share in the plunder of the ecclesiastical states and free towns of Germany, which had been abolished to compensate the princes for what they had lost at Lunéville, and were soon actually to call on Napoleon and Alexander of Russia to mediate between them. So he took a high line with England, and while sending spies and stirring up rebellion in Ireland, angrily complained that Malta was not given up as the treaty required, and demanded the expulsion of the royalist *émigrés* who were libelling him in their London newspaper *L'Ambigu*. England refused to

Renewal of the
French War,
1803.

give up Malta, called out the militia, and on 18th May 1803 declared war. Napoleon answered by putting an *embargo* on English shipping and shutting up in prison the thousands of English tourists who had swarmed into France as soon as peace was made.

2. War now lasted without a break until 1814. It was a very different war to that waged between 1793 and 1802. **Character of the struggle, 1803-14.** That had been the war of the old order against the ideas of the Revolution. This was fought for the balance of power and the liberties of Europe, threatened by the greedy despot who had already put down the freedom of his adopted country. Master of enlarged France, of Italy, the Low Countries, and Spain, the mediator of Germany, and the ally of Russia, Napoleon now picked a quarrel with the one nation outside his influence. England readily entered into a struggle of unexampled severity and length. On the Continent Napoleon still overthrew the old-fashioned armies of the despots of Europe, and was still welcomed, though with less zeal, as the apostle of Revolutionary France. But the English first taught the conqueror of so many *governments* how hard it is to overcome a *nation*. Bit by bit, as his designs became clearer, England succeeded in rousing up the nations of the Continent to defeat his designs of universal monarchy. Hence the extraordinary hatred which Napoleon always felt for England.

3. England had no ally, and Buonaparte threatened invasion. The attack began in Ireland. In July 1803 **Emmet's Rebellion, 1803.** Robert Emmet, brother of Thomas, the rebel in '98, was incited by Napoleon to attempt a revolution in Dublin, but he only managed to stir up a riot, during which the mob barbarously murdered Lord Chief-Justice Kilwarden. The soldiers soon put down the disturbance, and even the Irish peasantry would not hide Emmet in his character of a French officer. He was taken and hanged, and the stern coercive laws that were now passed were the first Irish measures of a Union Parliament.

4. England was fighting Napoleon single-handed, and Addington was not strong enough for such a crisis. A **Pitt's second Ministry, 1804-5.** powerful opposition had been formed by the union of Pitt's cousin and old colleague Lord Grenville with Fox and the Whigs. Pitt still professed to support him, but his great disciple, the brilliant George Canning, was already openly laughing at "the doctor and his galipots" (Addington's father was a physician), and declaring.

" 'Twere best, no doubt, the truth to tell ;
But still, good soul, he means so well."

Addington's chief supporters in the House were his own family.

" When his speeches hobble vilely,
What 'Hear hims' burst from brother Hiley ;
When his faltering periods lag,
Hark to the cheers of brother Bragge."

Not even George's friendship could keep him in office, and in May 1804 he had to give way to Pitt, who thought that in the face of the enemy his duty was to save the state rather than bewilder the half-mad king with advice on the Catholic question. He still wisely asked for a broad national ministry. But George would not hear of making Fox a Secretary of State, though he offered place to Lord Grenville. But Grenville refused to take office without Fox, though Fox good-naturedly pressed him to do so. Pitt made no heroic attempt to struggle against the king, backed by the party-feelings of the Tories. He gave up Fox as he had given up the Catholics, and did the next best thing he could, built up a ministry out of his own followers. Some of Addington's ministers remained, and Pitt chose out some brilliant young men, such as George Canning, William Huskisson, and Spencer Perceval, for the lesser posts. A few months later Addington himself joined the Government, and was made Lord Sidmouth.

5. Pitt restored confidence by his zeal in meeting the threatened invasion. Napoleon, who in May 1804 declared himself Emperor of the French, had gathered together a great army round Boulogne, and had built a vast fleet of flat-bottomed boats to carry the "Army of England" over the Channel. In India Napoleon excited the Maráthá war against England. He also strengthened his naval force by compelling his dependant, the contemptible Charles IV. of Spain, to fit out a great fleet. Like his father in 1761, Pitt desired to get beforehand with Spain ; and, as George was now on the minister's side, war was declared in December. But Nelson still ruled the Channel, and Dundas (now Lord Melville) administered the navy with much energy. Yet Nelson's fireships and the *Catamaran Expedition* failed to destroy the flotilla at Boulogne. On land Pitt built *martello* towers, set up beacons, dug the Military Canal, and encouraged the volunteer movement, which soon filled England with zealous

Preparations
against inva-
sion, 1803-4.

if badly trained fighters. He also strengthened the army, though his *Additional Forces Bill* (which required each parish to find a certain number of men or pay a fine, and so slightly extended the principle of forcing people to act as soldiers already recognised in the militia) was fiercely attacked by the Whigs, who foolishly laughed at his plans.

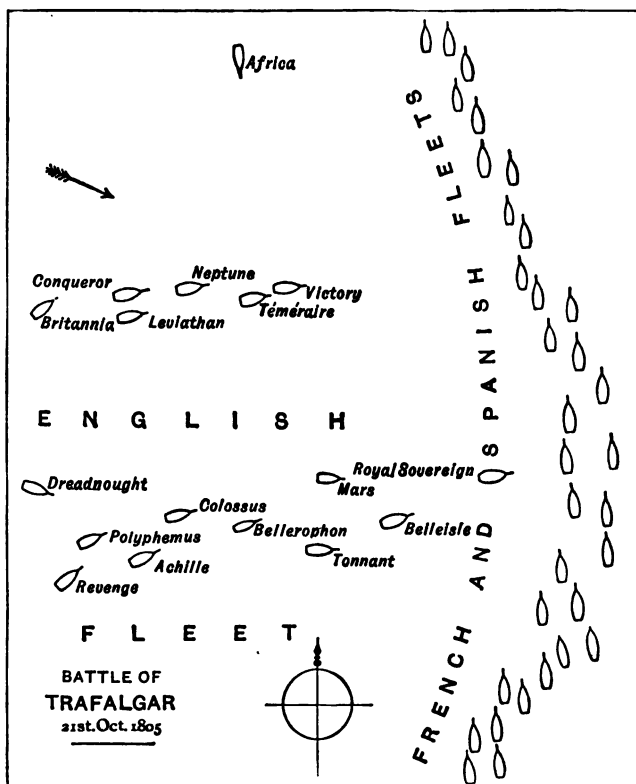
6. Months rolled on and the "Army of England" did nothing. At last Napoleon saw that it could only succeed if helped by his fleet; so **Nelson's chase of Villeneuve, 1805.** he ordered all the French and Spanish men-of-war to meet in the Channel to overbear Nelson by numbers.

But his orders were hard to carry out, and he kept changing his plans. He finally sent Admiral Villeneuve with the Toulon fleet to the West Indies to meet the Rochefort and Brest fleets, which had been already ordered there. Villeneuve picked up the Spanish fleet of Admiral Gravina at Cadiz, and arrived at Martinique in May 1805. He then found that the Rochefort fleet had sailed home again, thinking that he was never coming; while the Brest fleet under Gantheaume was shut in so closely by Admiral Cornwallis that it never got out at all. So Villeneuve sailed back to Europe, and was then told to liberate Gantheaume at Brest. Meanwhile Nelson had hurried to the West Indies and back on a wild-goose chase after Villeneuve. He then sailed to the Mediterranean and missed him again, and at last returned to England. But Admiral Calder with fifteen ships of the line had fought a gallant though indecisive battle with Villeneuve's twenty off *Cape Finisterre*, and had been unable to prevent the enemy getting back to Ferrol to refit. In August Villeneuve again went to sea, but believing that the English fleets had united to blockade Brest, was afraid to sail north, and went to Cadiz. To Napoleon's intense disgust, the great schemes of combination had failed.

7. Pitt's diplomacy now triumphed over the jealousies of the powers, and a *Third Coalition* of England, Russia, **The Third Coalition, 1805.** Austria, Naples, and Sweden was formed. Napoleon therefore changed his plans, and in August hurried the "Army of England" eastwards to attack Austria before she was ready. On 19th October 1805 he forced General Mack to surrender with 30,000 Austrians at *Ulm*.

8. On 15th September Nelson sailed from Portsmouth on his last chase after Villeneuve. Two days after *Ulm* (21st Oct.) the fleets met off *Cape Trafalgar*. **Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.** Nelson had twenty-seven ships of the line to meet the thirty-three of the French and Spaniards. Villeneuve arranged his fleet in a close line, which gradually drifted into the form of a crescent. Nelson's plan was to divide his fleet into two squadrons, and break the enemy's line in two places at once. The superior tactics of the English made it easy to carry this out, though Villeneuve's skilful change of front prevented Nelson from cutting off his retreat to Cadiz. The lee line, led by Nelson's second, Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, began the attack. But the weather line, headed by Nelson in the *Victory*, soon

came into action. Both lines got to close quarters, and a deadly struggle between ships almost interlocking each other broke out. This Nelson had wished for. "I have no fear of the result," he had written to Collingwood, "should the enemy close. No captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy." The *Victory*, as the



leading ship, suffered terribly, and a musket ball from the tops of the *Redoubtable* struck Nelson down. But he lived long enough to know that the enemy's fleet had been broken up. Twenty of their ships had lowered their flags, and Villeneuve was a prisoner. A storm broke out, and Collingwood's neglect to cast anchor probably caused the loss of some of the prizes and the escape of others to Cadiz. But the victory

was decisive, fears of invasion were over, and the narrowest strip of water became an effectual barrier against the lord of half Europe. The command of the seas was henceforth with the English.

9. Nothing at sea could make up really for Napoleon's triumph in Germany, where the South German princes now joined him in his invasion of Austria. On 2d December 1805 he won a decisive victory on the snow-covered plain of *Austerlitz*, and forced Austria to the humiliating *Peace of Pressburg*, which swelled out the territories of his own kingdom of Italy, and the puppet monarchies of Bavaria and Würtemberg. Napoleon now set up a ring of dependent kingdoms round his mighty empire. He drove the Bourbons from Naples, and put his brother Joseph as king in their stead. Another brother, Louis, became King of Holland, while out of Hanover and other North German States he soon built up the kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome. He also formed the smaller German States, with their cowardly and greedy rulers, now less than thirty in number, into the *Confederation of the Rhine*, under his Protectorship. Francis II. now gave up the vain title of Roman Emperor (which Napoleon himself coveted), and called himself Hereditary Emperor of Austria instead.

10. The collapse of the Coalition was a fatal blow to Pitt. He had never been strong, and had suffered terribly in April 1805 when Speaker Abbott's casting vote decided that there should be an inquiry into the irregularities at the Admiralty when his friend Melville had acted as Treasurer of the Navy. Tears trickled down his cheeks as his friends hurried him half-unconscious out of the House, amidst the uproarious triumph of the elated Opposition. It would be satisfied with nothing less than Melville's impeachment, and Sidmouth, Melville's enemy, resigned in disgust. Pitt's health now completely decayed. Trafalgar was very little consolation for Austerlitz and Pressburg. He died on 23d January 1806, at his pleasant villa at Putney. He was only forty-six years old.

11. It was impossible to keep the ministry together without Pitt, and George very unwillingly sent for Grenville, who would not take office without Fox. George was forced to give way, and Pitt's ideal ministry was at last attained of a broad and united ministry that would sink petty party jealousies to defend the empire against Napoleon.

In this *Ministry of all the Talents* Grenville was First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox Foreign Secretary. Pitt's ministers were represented by Windham and Lord Spencer; Sidmouth took with him his friend Chief-Justice Ellenborough; Fitzwilliam, Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey, the leader of the Reform agitation), and Lord Henry Petty (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne), represented the Whigs; Erskine, the great Whig advocate, was Chancellor, and the personal friends of the Prince of Wales even had a spokesman in Lord Moira.

Fox's former views compelled him to negotiate with Napoleon for peace, but though it suited the emperor to lead him by the nose a little longer, Fox was at last undeceived, and compelled to carry on the war. But on 13th September Fox died, worn out, like Pitt, and humiliated by failure. His last measure was the congenial task of pledging the House to the abolition of the brutal and degrading slave-trade. In February 1807 the bill was passed, with little opposition in the Commons, though in the Lords the old Tories, under Eldon and six royal dukes, voted against it.

In March the Grenville ministry resigned on the *Catholic Question*. The Union had joined the English and Irish armies, and in the latter Catholics could hold rank up to that of colonel. The ministry proposed that English Catholic officers should have the same rights as the Irish officers. "I have often heard," remarked the Whig wit Sheridan, "of people knocking out their brains against a wall, but never knew any one before build a wall expressly for the purpose." Of course George's prejudices were aroused. Sidmouth easily persuaded him that the ministers wanted to get rid of the Catholic disabilities by a side wind, and his anger frightened them into dropping their proposal, but they drew up a minute saving their right of giving him advice on the Catholic claims. "I must be the Protestant king of a Protestant country or no king," cried George, and he demanded the withdrawal of the minute. On their refusal he turned them out of office. It was the last and greatest of George's triumphs.

12. The Tories now came back to power. Portland became nominal Prime Minister, though the real chief was Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Canning, the Foreign Secretary, and Castlereagh, the Secretary for War, kept up Pitt's policy and still favoured the Catholics. But the brilliant and sensitive Canning quarrelled with the shrewder and narrower Castlereagh. In 1809 they fought a duel and gave up their offices.

The long Tory
rule, 1807-30.

Portland died, and Perceval now headed a reactionary Government, from which the Pittites were quite shut out.

13. In November 1810 the failure of his armies and the death of his favourite daughter Amelia threw the old king into the madness against which he had so long
The Regency, 1810-20. wrestled. George, Prince of Wales, now became *Prince Regent*, hedged in at first by limitations like those Pitt had proposed in 1788. The Regent's admirers describe him as "a merry, good-humoured man, tall, somewhat portly, with laughing eyes, pouting lips, and a nose slightly turned up." "He had," says the acute Clerk of the Council, Charles Greville, "a sort of capricious good-nature, arising from no good principle, which cancelled at small cost a long score of misconduct; but a more cowardly, selfish, unfeeling dog does not exist." He had always been a Whig, and if he had chosen he could have brought his friends back to power; but he threw them over and kept the Tories in office.

In May 1812 Perceval was murdered by a lunatic. "Had Canning joined Perceval at Portland's death, he would now
The Liverpool Ministry, 1812-27. have been the acknowledged head," wrote Wilberforce, "but his ambitious policy threw him out, and he sunk infinitely, and has since with difficulty kept himself afloat." So the Earl of Liverpool (formerly Lord Hawkesbury) now became Prime Minister. He was a man with "lank limbs and figure, destitute of elegance and grace, with reflection and caution stamped on every feature, with eyes generally looking downwards, of impervious and inscrutable demeanour, and with manners polite, calm, and unassuming, grave, if not cold." Castle-reagh, now Foreign Secretary, and leader of the Commons, was the strongest man in the Cabinet, and most mixed up in the popular mind with its repressive policy. Liverpool remained in office till 1827. The Tories kept in power as long as George ruled, whether as regent or king. As Byron put it—

"Nought 's permanent among the human race,
 Except the Whigs not getting into place."

14. The great merit of the Tory Government was that it kept fighting away against Napoleon in a sort of bull-dog
The Conduct of the War, 1806-14. fashion, and triumphed in the end by sheer doggedness and perseverance. But it never grasped that it was a waste of energy to send small expeditions all over the world, which annoyed the enemy, but did not influence the larger struggle. It knew

nothing of continental feeling, was jealous of its best generals, and hampered by all sorts of jobbery and weakness. In 1809 the easy and foolish Duke of York had to resign the office of Commander-in-Chief because his favourite, Mrs. Clarke, had sold commissions in the army.

15. After Fox's negotiations had failed, England plunged into the war with renewed vigour, but the Grenville ministry frittered away its resources in petty expeditions. The most successful of these forays was Stuart's brilliant dash into Calabria (the toe of the Italian boot), where he stirred up the peasants against Joseph Buonaparte, and with only 4700 men defeated 7000 French soldiers in a pitched battle at *Maida* (1806). But he was too weak to hold his own, and had soon to recross the Straits of Messina. In 1807 General Whitelocke failed completely in his attack on *Buenos Ayres*; Admiral Duckworth was compelled to give up his attempt on *Constantinople*, and had some trouble in escaping through the Dardanelles; General Fraser could not capture *Rosetta*, and had to abandon Egypt.

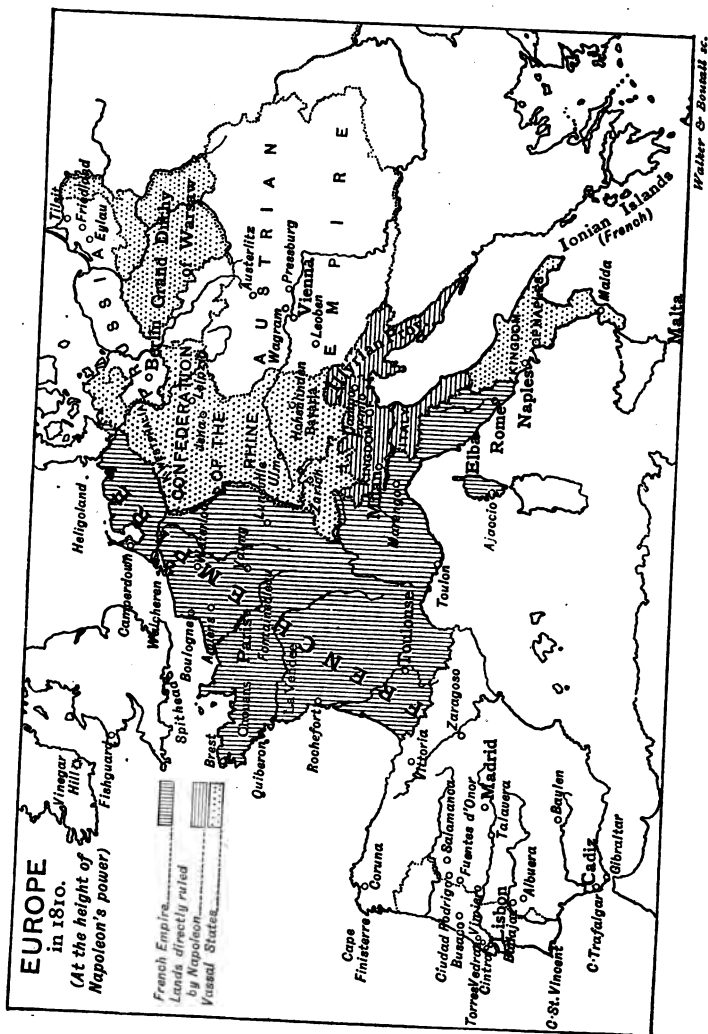
War policy of
the Grenville
Ministry,
1804-7.

16. Napoleon was carrying all before him on the Continent. On 1st October 1806 Prussia was forced to fight the French, but the spirit of Frederick the Great had fled; and on 14th October her army was crushed at *Jena*, and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. Russia now united her vast and stubborn hosts to the remnants of the Prussian forces. A fierce and bloody campaign was fought in the extreme east of Prussia during the winter. But after the hardly contested *Battle of Eylau* had revived the hopes of the Coalition, the genius and good fortune of Napoleon triumphed at *Friedland*. Alexander now threw over his allies, and in July 1807 signed the *Treaty of Tilsit* with Napoleon, by which they divided Europe between them. Prussia was stripped of lands west of the Elbe, which went to Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia, and her vast Polish provinces fell to the treacherous new-made King of Saxony, with the title of Grand Duke of Warsaw. Sweden and Turkey were left to Alexander's mercy. Finland was filched from the chivalrous Gustavus IV., whom the Swedes compelled to abdicate, as he would not break from the Coalition. His uncle, Charles XIII., made peace, and adopted Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, as his heir.

Tilsit, 1807.

17. From 1807 to 1812 France and Russia remained friends, and Napoleon, who now hated England more than ever, strove in vain to get a new navy. His last hopes failed when, in September 1807, England again bombarded Copenhagen, and seized the Danish fleet. He had now formed a plan to ruin English trade. By the *Berlin Decree* of 21st November 1806, he declared all the British islands in a state of *blockade*, forbade any of his dependants or allies to trade with them, confiscated all English goods, and seized upon every English subject he could catch. His first object was now to force this *Continental System* upon all Europe. England answered with

The Continental
System, 1806.



effect by the *Orders in Council*, which forbade all trade with France and her dependencies, and still further cut down the rights of neutrals. But England answered even better by clearing off the sea the chief commercial navies of Europe, and occupying the colonies of the French and their Dutch vassals. Before the war was over England had secured for herself the carrying trade of the world, and had built up by her conquests a new colonial empire to make up for lost America. So strong was she at sea, that she could do much more harm to the Continent than it could to her. All colonial produce, most manufactured goods, rose to famine prices on the Continent. A vast system of smuggling grew up which brought great gains to English traders, and centred round the little Danish island of Heligoland, which England had now seized, and has kept until 1890. Napoleon almost confessed himself beaten when he was forced to clothe his soldiers in English cloth, and nothing made him more hated throughout Europe than the dear sugar, coffee, and cloth which resulted from his malicious and impracticable policy. The greatest trouble which his system brought on England was a new quarrel with America, whose ships, the only neutral traders of importance left, were constantly searched or stopped by English cruisers.

18. Portugal, the old and faithful ally of England, still rejected the Continental System. Napoleon, in alliance with Charles of Spain, drove the Prince Regent to the Brazils, and sent the bold and ambitious Junot to occupy Lisbon. But the intrigues of the Infant Ferdinand (Charles's eldest son) had produced riots in Spain, which frightened Charles into abdication, and gave the French a pretext to occupy Madrid (23d March 1808). Napoleon now enticed Charles and Ferdinand to Bayonne, where both were persuaded to surrender their rights to the throne, which was given to Joseph Buonaparte, whom Murat now succeeded as King of Naples. Never was a more wanton insult inflicted on a proud and high-spirited nation. Never did Napoleon make a worse mistake than in getting rid of a submissive tool whom Spaniards would obey for his brother whom they scorned. Hitherto Spain had quietly followed his lead. But a popular rising soon set the whole Peninsula on fire. For the first time on the Continent Buonaparte had roused a whole nation against him. The regular Spanish Government was replaced by turbulent revolutionary *Juntas*. The Spanish armies were weak, ill-provided, and miserably led, yet the French could only

**The Spanish
Insurrection,
1808.**

hold the ground on which they were encamped. Every peasant took up arms. Every straggler was mercilessly cut off. The low brick wall of Zaragoza resisted the French assault; 18,000 French soldiers laid down their arms to the raw army that had defeated them at *Baylen* (20th July 1808). Joseph fled from Madrid. The spirit of resistance spread to Portugal. The "Spanish ulcer" slowly ate into the vitals of Napoleon's empire, and all his genius could not cut it away.

19. Englishmen hailed with delight the patriotism of the peoples of the Peninsula. But the Government was slow to see the chance which it now had. A mere expedition foolishly destined by Grenville for South America was now diverted to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley, the hero of the Mysore and Mahratta wars, but latterly Irish Secretary under Perceval. On 5th August 1808 Wellesley landed his army at the little fort of Figueras on the Mondego River. His wise plan was to keep his troops together, and strike a decisive blow as soon as he could. But Sir Harry Burrard, an incompetent senior officer, now arrived to take the command, and ordered him to make no attack. Fortunately on 21st August Junot attacked Wellesley at *Vimiero*, when well posted in a strong position. The French failed, withdrew with heavy losses, and might have been forced to surrender but for Burrard's stopping the pursuit next day. Burrard was superseded by Sir Hew Dalrymple, and it was resolved to wait still longer. But Junot showed little vigour, and began to negotiate. On 30th August he agreed by the *Convention of Cintra* to give up Portugal if his whole army and its arms were shipped over to France. It was a great triumph, but people at home thought that Junot was let off too easily, and were very angry. "Certain it is," wrote an English agent, "that if your army were at Madrid, the French would evacuate Spain before you got within a week's march of them." Sir John Moore, who had in 1807 commanded in Sweden, was sent with 25,000 men to march all the way from Portugal to the Ebro, and unite with the Spanish armies from which so much was expected. Even the Duke of York protested against the folly of sending so small a force so great a distance.

"Without a moment of repose," said Napoleon to his army, "I bid you traverse France. The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the Peninsula; in terror he must fly before you. Let us bear our triumphal eagles to the pillars of Hercules. A real Frenchman ought not to rest until the seas are open to all." Three hundred and thirty thousand French troops were now in the Peninsula, where on 8th November they were joined by the Emperor. Within a month the Spanish armies were crushed and scattered. On 4th December Napoleon entered Madrid in triumph.

Moore had already reached Salamanca, misled by the English agents, and profoundly disgusted with the vanity and the sluggishness of the Spaniards. On learning the defeat of his allies, he could only beat a quick retreat. Napoleon hurried after him, but Moore moved still faster, over bad mountain roads.

**Beginnings of
the Peninsu-
lar War, 1808.**

Coruña, 1809.

amidst the snows and storms of winter, with his dispirited, mutinous, and disorderly troops. Other business now took away the Emperor, but Soult followed Moore closely to Coruña, where the English arrived on 10th January 1809, only to find that the expected fleet was not there. At last driven to bay, they fought and defeated Soult on 16th January. But the ships had now arrived, and the victory only secured a safe embarkation. Moore was slain in the battle. He had carried through a hopeless task with the greatest gallantry and spirit. "He was," says the soldier historian, Sir William Napier, "a man of uncommon capacity and of the purest virtue. His tall graceful person, his dark searching eyes, strongly defined forehead, and singularly expressive mouth, indicated a noble disposition and a refined understanding. While he lived he scorned and spurned the base, and they spurned at him when he was dead."

20. Napoleon had hurried away from Spain because Austria had again taken up arms. His tyranny had already begun to do its work in Germany, and Schill, The Austrian War of 1809. a brave officer, and the exiled Duke of Brunswick, raised the North against King Jerome, while the heroic innkeeper, Hofer, had stirred up Tyrol against Napoleon's tool, the King of Bavaria. The popular minister Stadion, and the gallant Archduke Charles, had inspired Austria with a new spirit. It was hoped that Germany would rise as Spain had arisen. The French were held in check at the great battle of Aspern.

The English ministry equipped nearly 90,000 soldiers, but did not know what to do with them. If it had sent them to the Peninsula where Wellesley was at last in command, and where Beresford was drilling the raw Portuguese troops into good soldiers, they might have driven the French over the Pyrenees. If they had gone to the Elbe they might have stretched a helping hand to Schill and Brunswick, and have stirred up Germany to imitate the Spanish insurrection. But ministers wasted their strongest army in a hopeless campaign amidst the unhealthy swamps of *Walcheren*, in Zealand, where Walcheren, 1809. the peasantry was hostile, and the impregnable stronghold of Antwerp barred the way. They gave the command to the second Lord Chatham, who, though in appearance the image of his father, with his eagle nose and haughty manners, had nothing of his great spirit, and was thoroughly incompetent. Nothing was done in Germany, and small help sent to the Peninsula, so that Wellesley was followed by less than 20,000 English troops in the daring and desperate march towards Madrid which he now ventured to undertake.

Soult now formed a brilliant plan of occupying the ground in Wellesley's rear, while Marshal Victor and King Joseph lured the English into Spain. Wellesley now found that the Spaniards were of little use, and could hardly even get provisions from them. They kept him in such ignorance of the French movements that he nearly fell into the trap. But vain King Joseph preferred to risk a battle rather than lose Madrid for a second time. On 28th July he attacked the English and Spaniards at *Talavera*. The Spaniards either fled or remained inactive in their

positions ; but for three hours 16,000 raw British troops withstood the assault of 30,000 French, and drove them back after a hard honest fight. Wellesley did not venture to pursue, and only escaped Talavera, 1809. from Soult, who now blocked up the direct road back, by a roundabout march over the Sierras with his sick and starving troops. He reached Portugal at last, thoroughly disgusted, and resolved that he would never again work along with the Spaniards. Yet the brilliancy of the victory broke the prestige of the French troops, and made Wellesley (created Viscount Wellington of Talavera) too strong for the Government to turn out.

Failure met the allies at every point. On 6th July Austria was again crushed at the *Battle of Wagram*, and was forced to Wagram, 1809. make peace, and surrender the Archduchess Maria Louisa to be the wife of Napoleon. The popular risings in Germany failed, and Napoleon was stronger than ever.

21. Vast French armies were now poured into the Peninsula, and the incapable ministry left Wellington to shift for himself, while the factious opposition denounced him as headstrong and incompetent. He was "a man a little above the middle height, well-limbed, muscular, thin, with a firm tread, an erect carriage, a countenance strongly patrician, and an appearance remarkable and distinguished, with something penetrating in his clear light eye." He now showed as much self-restraint and caution as he had before shown courage and daring.

Unable to keep the field, Wellington calmly waited attack within the lines of Torres Vedras, an impregnable series of forts and earthworks between the sea and the Lower Tagus, to defend Lisbon and its peninsula.

With unwonted sluggishness the French delayed until the late summer of 1810. At the last moment Wellington thought it best to keep up the courage of the Portuguese by another battle, and drove back the hosts of Masséna, the new French general, from their attack on the ridge of *Busaco* (September 27). He then retired within the lines, until winter and hard fare drove Masséna out of Portugal.

In 1811 Wellington ventured on a more forward policy. On 5th May he defeated Masséna at *Fuentes de Onoro*, which led to the capture of the great fortress of Almeida and the siege of *Albuera*, 1811.

Badajos. On 16th May Beresford and his Portuguese, with less than 7000 English troops, fought the bloody battle of *Albuera*, to prevent Soult raising this siege. Beresford was out-generalled by Soult, and his little English forces on an isolated hill had to bear the full brunt of the attack. The dense columns of the French pushed vigorously to the assault, but the cramped space and their close formation prevented their superiority in number being felt. After a terrific struggle the French were slowly pushed back over the cliff ; "the rain flowed in streams discoloured by blood, and 1800 unwounded men, the remnant of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill." Nevertheless Wellington had to give up the siege of Badajos.

In 1812 the long alliance of France and Russia was broken up, and

Napoleon put raw conscripts in the place of Soult and Masséna's veterans, whom he summoned to Russia. In the spring Wellington cleared the way for the invasion of Spain by storming with terrible loss the great frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. But Marmont pressed him hard, and but for rashly forcing a battle at *Salamanca* (22d July), would probably have driven him back to Portugal. As it was, Wellington occupied Madrid on 12th August, amidst the rejoicings of the people. But he was now far from his basis, and superior French forces were rapidly gathering on either side. Again he was compelled to retreat amidst scenes of mutiny and disorder that not even his iron discipline could check. But next year the renewal of the general war in Europe gave him for the first time an advantage in numbers, for the need of keeping Spain down compelled the wide scattering of the French armies. Wellington again advanced, this time to the north, where the Spanish revolt was in full strength. On 21st June 1813 he won the decisive victory of *Vittoria*, and a series of bloody fights opened up the passes of the *Pyrenees*. Soult manfully withstood his progress, and checked his advance in the hard-fought *Battle of Toulouse* (14th April 1814).

Salamanca,
1812.

Vittoria, 1813.

22. The grasping masterfulness of Napoleon had wounded the self-love of Alexander of Russia, and the Continental System was a burden too heavy to be borne. In 1812 the compact of Tilsit was broken and the rulers of the West and East were again at war. Napoleon led a *Grand Army* of half a million men to the invasion of Russia, defeated the Czar's army at *Borodino*, and wintered in Moscow, the old capital and national centre. But he had again set a whole people against him, and incessant attacks and the rigours of a northern winter drove him back over the Niemen in a headlong retreat. Prussia, which had been filled with a new spirit by the wise reforms of Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst, now ventured to join the victorious Russians. In 1813 all Germany rose in revolt. In vain Napoleon hurried up a new army and fought a brilliant and successful campaign in Saxony. Austria now joined the allies. The great Battle of the Nations at *Leipsig* (19th October) drove him over the Rhine. His German vassals fell from their thrones, and the famous Stein sought to build up a German nation from the fervent and patriotic volunteers. In the spring of 1814 Napoleon was slowly pushed back to Paris. On 4th April, ten days before the battle of Toulouse, Napoleon abdicated his throne, and was sent to play at king in the little island of Elba, while the swords of the allies made Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI., constitutional king of France. The first *Peace of Paris* was made, and a *Congress* met at Vienna to arrange the final settlement of Europe.

Fall of
Napoleon,
1814.

23. Another war now broke out. The *Orders in Council* had provoked great discontent in America, which had retaliated by breaking off all trade with England, and in June 1812 by declaring war. Now it was too late the Orders in Council were abolished. The Americans invaded Canada and failed, but won many small victories at sea, especially with their large and heavily armed frigates, which easily captured our frigates, and made havoc with our trading ships. But they could not, as the famous fight of the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon* showed, make a stand against British

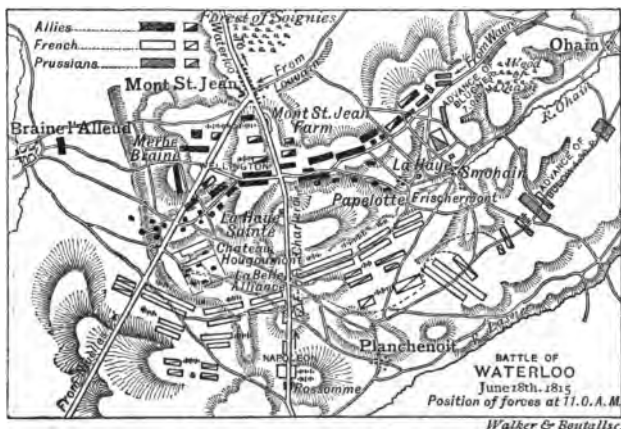
The American
War, 1812-14.

ships of equal force. After the end of the Peninsular War Wellington's veterans were shipped off to America, where they took and destroyed *Washington*, but failed on *Lake Champlain*, at *Baltimore*, and at *New Orleans*. At last, on 24th December 1814, the mediation of the Czar led to the *Treaty of Ghent*, which compromised the disputes and put off the difficult boundaries question. It was a wasteful and unnecessary war, which might have been avoided by tact and sense on both sides.

24. Napoleon could not rest at Elba, and on 1st March 1815 landed in the south of France. He was welcomed with enthusiasm by the army; his march to **The Hundred Days, 1815.** Paris was a triumph, and helpless Louis XVIII. fled before him. His one chance now lay in promptitude, and he resolved to make a hasty dash against the army gathering in Belgium, hoping to drive it into the sea before the great Austrian and Russian armies had assembled in the East. Wellington, now a Duke, and with a reputation only second to Napoleon's, was made commander of the English and Netherlands troops, while the daring old cavalry officer Blücher, and the famous strategist Gneisenau, led the Prussians.

The allies were stretched along a long line south of Brussels to save that city from capture. On 16th June Napoleon drove back the Prussians, who held the left wing, at *Ligny*, but his attack on the English outposts at *Quatre Bras* failed. But the retreat of the Prussians forced Wellington to retire also, and Blücher, who was not at all badly beaten, deceived the 30,000 French under Grouchy, who were seeking him in the East, by retreating northwards to Wavre. On 18th June Wellington took up his station on a low ridge running east and west, about two miles south of the little town of *Waterloo*, and immediately before the village of Mont St. Jean. The country house of Hougomont protected his right, a farm called La Haye Sainte was at his centre, and others called Papelotte and La Haye, covered his left. The French drew up opposite, with their centre at the small village of Planchenoit. The numbers were about equal, perhaps 70,000 men a-side; but Wellington's army consisted of raw English recruits and of Netherlandish conscripts that would have gladly been fighting for Napoleon. The French, to whom time was everything, began the battle by a desperate assault on Hougomont, which was gallantly and successfully resisted by the garrison of English Guards and Germans. Though meant as a mere feint, this attack made Hougomont a chief centre of the fighting. But the main struggle was at the allies' centre. "Never did I see," wrote Wellington to Beresford, "such a pounding match. Both were what the boxers call 'gluttons.' Napoleon did not manoeuvre at all. He just moved forward in the old style in columns, and was driven off in the old style. The only difference was that he mixed cavalry with his infantry, and supported both by an enormous quantity of artillery. I had the infantry for some time in squares, and we had the French cavalry walking about as if they had been our own. I never saw the British infantry behave so well." Both sides lost terribly, especially the close columns

of the attacking French. The battle raged all the afternoon, and the English line stood firm, though La Haye Sainte was abandoned, and our left seriously threatened by the French. But the Prussians, after a heavy march over muddy roads, were now arriving from Wavre. The last desperate charge of the reserves of the Imperial Guard failed, Wellington ordered a general advance, and the whole line of the French was broken, and put to flight. Gneisenau followed up the pursuit, and effectually scattered the remains of Napoleon's last army. The game was now up. On 7th July Paris was again occupied, and the defeated Emperor took refuge in an English man-of-war. He spent the rest of his life on the barren rock of St. Helena, dictating lies and slanders to his attendants to justify his career.



25. The *First Peace of Paris* (1814) had restored the Bourbon king, and limited France to its boundaries before 1792, but had given it back all the English colonial conquests, except Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Mauritius. Malta remained with England, and Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and part of Guiana were not given back to the Dutch. The *Second Peace of Paris* (1815) now brought back Louis XVIII. a second time, and punished France by a slight loss of territory and by a war indemnity of twenty-eight million pounds, and imposed on it a foreign garrison for five years to prop up the throne of the Bourbons. The *Congress of Vienna* now completed its settlement of Europe. It restored most of the old princes of Italy, the King of Naples, the Duke of Tuscany, the Pope, and the King of Sardinia, but it gave Milan and Venice to Austria, whose arms alone held up the petty despots. Napoleon's German settlement was practically continued, and the double treachery of the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the rest, kept them on

The Congress
of Vienna,
1815.

their thrones, though with diminished territories. George III. got back Hanover with the title of king. Even the King of Saxony was kept, because the jealousies of Austria and Prussia made it hard to deal with his territory. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw was formed into a constitutional kingdom of Poland, of which the Czar, however, was king. Prussia received her compensation for losses in Poland in the reconquered Rhineland. A feeble German Confederation with a Diet at Frankfurt included both the lesser powers, and Austria and Prussia. Protestant Holland and Catholic Belgium were united in the new kingdom of the Netherlands, with the Prince of Orange for its king. (At the same time Norway revolted from its taskmaster Denmark, and became an independent state with the king of Sweden as its ruler.) In all its arrangements the Congress disregarded the national feeling which had overthrown Napoleon, and made its arrangements entirely in the interests of the princes. The chief powers also entered into a *Holy Alliance* to "govern Europe on Christian principles." This was really a treaty by which they agreed to help each other to put down *Liberalism*. Wellington and Castlereagh, the English representatives at Vienna, refused to join it.

26. England was terribly worn out by the long war. The hoped-for revival in trade did not follow upon peace, and a series of wretched harvests, along with the *New Corn Law* of 1815 (which prevented the bringing in of foreign wheat till English wheat was 80s. a quarter) made bread so dear that many honest workmen could hardly get enough to eat. Riots broke out. The wretched peasants burnt the farmers' ricks, and the factory hands destroyed their masters' labour-saving machines. In 1816 some silly enthusiasts called *Spencean Philanthropists* formed a plot to capture the Tower of London, and establish a *Committee of Public Safety*; but their great meeting in Spa Fields proved a failure. The *blanketeers* (so called from the blankets they strapped to their backs) met at Manchester and set out to march to London, while a really formidable riot broke out at Derby in June 1817. But the most famous riot was on 16th August 1819, when a great meeting of *Radical Reformers* in St. Peter's Field (a small plot of waste ground in Manchester surrounded with houses) assembled with some sort of military discipline, and was dispersed by cavalry with considerable loss. This was called the *Manchester Massacre*, or *Peterloo*.

The Tory government was still afraid of the ghost of the French Revolution. Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, had no remedy but repression. All constitutional agitation for reform was put down, and the people in their distress were driven into the arms of silly agitators, like the vain and noisy "Orator Hunt," or professed revolutionists

Distress, Dis-
turbances, and
Repression,
1815-20.

like the desperate Thistlewood. But there were sturdy Radicals like Samuel Bamford, the Lancashire weaver, who abhorred all notions of bloodshed, and blunt, shrewd, wrong-headed William Cobbett, who wielded an enormous influence through the nervous, vigorous prose of his *Political Register*.

In 1817 the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, though the Government could not get the Radical bookseller Hone convicted for his profane parodies. After the Manchester Massacre the hands of the Executive were further strengthened by the repressive *Six Acts*, but the unpopularity they brought on the Government did it more harm than the new weapons against sedition did good.

27. The Regent lost his last scrap of popularity when in 1817 his only daughter, the Princess Charlotte, died soon after her marriage with the astute and politic Leopold of Sachsen-Coburg. George had long lived apart from his foolish and ill-chosen wife, Caroline of Brunswick, and there was no hope of a direct heir. Frederick Duke of York, the only other married son of George III., had no children. So the elderly sons of George III. at once hurried into wedlock. The sailor, William Duke of Clarence, now married Adelaide of Meiningen, but his only daughter died quite young. Edward Duke of Kent married Victoria of Coburg, sister of Prince Leopold, and the birth of their daughter, the present Queen Victoria (1819), was much welcomed, because it saved the throne from going to the next brother, the odious Ernest Duke of Cumberland, and his descendants. Adolphus Duke of Cambridge also married and left a son, the present Duke.

Death and
Family of
George III.

Queen Charlotte died in 1818. George III. survived until 29th January 1820, but he had become blind and deaf, as well as mad. He had outlived his triumph, but was unconscious how his wretched son had, happily perhaps for the nation, let his great power slip unnoticed away.

BOOK X.

1820-1900.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two strongest political forces of the nineteenth century are *Nationality* and *Democracy*.

After 1815 the *Holy Alliance* was formed by the restored despots of Europe, to protect themselves against these two great principles upheld by the *Liberals* of the Continent. The chief event of the history of the century is the gradual triumph of the national and popular cause.

At first Nationality and Democracy were closely bound together, and suspected of leading to revolution, infidelity, and anarchy. The Liberal movements of 1830 and 1848 failed because of this combination.

Sensible men gradually came to see that the first principle to be asserted was that of Nationality. When the national cause was no longer revolutionary, strong kings were found to put themselves at the head of it. The house of Savoy now set up a united Italy, and the house of Brandenburg a united Germany. England, France, and Russia were already nations as well as states. At last the house of Austria did what it could in this direction, by giving self-government to some of the many nations of which its empire is composed. The national principle has even spread to the Balkan Peninsula as the only way of solving the problems presented by the decay of Turkey. But the new national states became for the most part strong centralised monarchies, though with enough of a popular and constitutional element about them to show their origin. But the settlement of the form of government now became a home question for each.

In England there was little need to vindicate the national principle; and from the time of Canning England's general

sympathy and influence has been with the national cause on the Continent.

England was therefore free for the other great principle to work itself out. The history of England since 1820 has been the history of the growth of popular power, of the growth of democracy.

The movement began with the establishment of religious and commercial freedom by the liberal Tories under George IV. The next step was the Reform Bill of 1832, and the long train of measures which followed it. The popular movement hardly stopped when the Whigs lost power, through their inability to govern. The new Conservatism of Peel established free trade and cheapened the food of the people; but in its struggle with vested interests his party split itself up (1846).

For the next twenty years there is a perceptible slackening in the growth of the popular cause, though much was done to improve the people's condition and make it fit to exercise the power it was soon to enjoy.

The death of Lord Palmerston (1865) marks the beginning of a new forward movement. Under the leadership of Gladstone a whole series of sweeping reforms was brought about by the Liberals. The Conservatives, reorganised and inspired with new ideals by Disraeli, were now hardly less democratic than their rivals. The Reform Bill of 1867 was passed by Disraeli. The Reform Bill of 1885, which made England a democracy, was carried by an agreement between both the great parties.

Political changes were not enough now. Men began to expect more from the State, and to desire great economical and social changes as well. These were just beginning to be accomplished, when the old parties were broken up by the adoption in 1886 by the Liberal leader of the Irish programme. The first act of power of the enfranchised democracy was to vindicate the unity of the empire, which, rightly or wrongly, it believed to be in danger. But this marks a new starting-point, and history must cease where present controversy rages.

England's progress in the nineteenth century has not been merely political. Her wealth, commerce, and manufactures have grown enormously. Her command of the world's trade has become more complete, though now somewhat threatened.

England's moral progress has even been greater than her material growth. Men have ceased to be satisfied with the

complacent contemplation of material prosperity, and earnest efforts have been made to make England better, wiser, and happier. There has been progress, though not perhaps uninterrupted progress, in religion, morality, earnestness, and intelligence. A new way of looking at things has grown up which is sympathetic of the past, though not neglectful of the present. But much still remains to be done before we can feel real satisfaction.

CHAPTER I.

George IV., 1820-1830.

1. The Regent became King George IV., and the Tory Government went on as before. On 23d February 1820 the ministers dined together at Lord Harrowby's, in Grosvenor Square. Arthur Thistlewood urged some desperate Radicals, who met in a loft in *Cato Street*, Edgware Road, to plot their destruction. "There will be," said he, "fourteen or sixteen there, and it will be a rare haul to murder them all together." But a comrade laid bare their plans to Lord Sidmouth. The leaders were seized and brought to trial. Thistlewood and five others were executed. In April a Radical riot was attempted at Glasgow, but failed, though a regular fight broke out between a cavalry troop and some armed revolutionists at *Bonnymuir*. Both attempts showed the hopelessness of really putting down agitation and the unpopularity of the new king and his ministers.

*Cato Street
Conspiracy,
1820.*

2. In 1795 George IV. had married Caroline of Brunswick, to please his father and to get his debts paid. They soon quarrelled and were separated. Since 1814 she had lived abroad; but now she came back to England and demanded to be acknowledged as queen. The ministers, prompted by Wilberforce, tried to treat with her and failed. George would not let her be prayed for in church, and forced Lord Liverpool to bring forward in the Lords a bill to dissolve the marriage on the ground of her misconduct. The evidence showed that she had certainly been giddy and foolish, and very likely wicked. But public feeling rose high that so bad a husband as George should complain of his wife's conduct. The Opposition took up her

*Trial of Queen
Caroline, 1820.*

cause. Canning went out of office rather than act against her. Brougham, the most prominent Whig lawyer, became her attorney-general. Even Wilberforce, who "feared she had been very profligate, could not help admiring her spirit." Her house was always surrounded by a "most shabby assemblage," that cheered the "stout lady in a large hat and feathers," who bowed from the window. So strong was the feeling that the ministers dropped their bill after it had passed its third reading in the Lords by a majority of only nine. The queen's popularity now waned. People began to see how unworthy she was. She failed in an undignified attempt to get admission to George's gorgeous and wasteful coronation ceremonies. The mob hissed her, and, wearied with the struggle, she went home to die. A last wave of enthusiasm for her caused a bloody riot when her body was being conveyed through London on its way to its burial-place in Germany. On her coffin she had ordered to be written: "Here lies Caroline, the injured Queen of England."

George was delighted at his wife's death, which he learnt when on his way to Dublin, "eating goose-pie, and drinking whisky so abundantly that when he arrived he was in the last stage of intoxication." He made in that state a mad speech in which he said "rank, station, and honours were nothing, but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects is exalted happiness." He was wonderfully well received, and the port from which he sailed was called Kingstown in his honour. He was equally welcomed in Hanover, and next year was even more successful in a visit to Scotland, Sir Walter Scott taking a leading share in his reception. But his behaviour, "like a popular candidate on an electioneering trip," disgusted right-thinking men. He soon shut himself up in "the Cottage," or in his favourite Brighton Pavilion, a peevish, whimsical, prematurely old, thoroughly selfish recluse, with failing health, and few friends save his favourite Lady Conyngham and her greedy family, and his Keeper of the Privy Purse, Sir William Knighton, of whom he was afraid.

3. "The Government," complained Lord Sidmouth, "is in a very strange and precarious state." "Never," says an enemy, "was anything so low and wretched as the Treasury Bench. It can only go on from the determination there is not to take the Whigs." But many of the abler Tories were also outside the ministry, which represented only the reactionary elements of the party, such as Castlereagh (now Lord Londonderry, by his

father's death), Sidmouth, and Eldon. There was also a very influential and brilliant body of liberal Tories, who boasted, with Canning, to be the followers of Pitt, and "since his death had acknowledged no other leader." The death of the old king set them free from their last scruple about raising the Catholic question. On some subjects—for example, trade—they were more advanced than the regular Whig opposition, from whom they only differed by their hatred of Parliamentary Reform, which Canning thought "could not be raised without stirring the constitution to its very foundations," and because "the House of Commons as constituted is adequate to all its functions, and showy theories and fanciful schemes of arithmetical or geometrical proportion would produce no amelioration." The Whigs were now led by Earl Grey (formerly Lord Howick), the earnest and consistent advocate of reform, a man of "elevated head, dignified, and gentle demeanour, and placid look, ready to become animated if any subject of interest arose." In the Commons the amiable Ponsonby had been succeeded as leader by the accomplished Tierney. But the violent and versatile Henry Brougham had now pushed himself into great reputation. "Besides his almost childish gaiety and animal spirits," says Greville, "the facility with which he handles every subject, displaying a mind full of varied and extensive information, and a memory which has suffered nothing to escape it, I never saw any man whose conversation so impressed me. As Rogers said, when he went, 'This morning Solon, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Archimedes, Newton, and Chesterfield, and a great many more, rolled away in one postchaise.'" Lord Grenville, after 1807, had gradually drifted away from Grey, and tried to make a fourth party out of his little band of kinsfolk, including the Marquis of Buckingham, Sir Watkin Wynn, and his brother Charles Wynn.

4. The Ministry had to strengthen itself or perish. It gave the Home Secretaryship—from which Sidmouth retired—to the only rising man of ability among the old Tories, Robert Peel (son of Sir Robert Peel, the rich Lancashire manufacturer, and great admirer of Pitt), who had already become famous as Chairman of the *Bullion Committee*, which in 1819 had procured the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. It next won over the Grenvillites, and offered Canning, whom the king would not hear of as a minister, the Governor-Generalship of India. Canning was

The liberal
Tories added to
the Ministry,
1822.

just setting out when, on 12th August 1822, Londonderry cut his throat in a fit of depression.

"Londonderry's talents were great," said Greville, "though he, perhaps, owed his authority more to his character than his abilities. His appearance was dignified and imposing; he was affable and agreeable in society. His great feature was cool and determined courage. As a speaker he was prolix, monotonous, and never eloquent; but full of good sense and argument. He was considered one of the best managers of the House of Commons that ever sat in it. He was a great loss to his party; to his country, I think, he is none."

Londonderry's suicide was the deathblow of old Toryism. The king was now forced to receive Canning as Foreign Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. His friend, Huskisson, became President of the Board of Trade, and Frederick Robinson (son of Lord Grantham, and a descendant of Sir Thomas Robinson, the would-be rival of Pitt and Fox in 1754) was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Henry Temple (1784-1865), Viscount Palmerston in the Irish peerage, was Secretary-at-War. The Marquis Wellesley, Wellington's elder brother, and famous many years before as Governor-General of India, was already Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Liverpool was not strong enough to stand up against Canning, who, though hated by the old Tories, was practically Prime Minister. A series of great administrative and practical reforms now succeeded the old policy of repression. Canning shook England free of the Holy Alliance; Huskisson prepared the way for free trade; Peel reformed the criminal law.

5. Revolutions were breaking out everywhere abroad. The Spanish colonies of South America were in full revolt from the narrow and oppressive rule of the mother country. In Spain itself the army rose and forced Ferdinand VII. to accept a constitution. Portugal, angry at its king's continuing in Brazil, followed its neighbour's example. Naples, excited by the secret societies of *Carbonari* (charcoal-burners), also demanded the Spanish Constitution. The despots of the Holy Alliance met together in conference at Troppau and Laibach, and resolved that "useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of States ought only to spring from the free-will and weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power," that is, from the kings alone. So they sent Austrian troops to restore despotism

Canning's

Foreign Policy,
1822-27.

in Naples, and before long a French army abolished the Constitution of Spain.

Castlereagh had in public declared that the system of the Alliance "was in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws of England," but in private he had told Metternich and Nesselrode that England would not interfere with them. He was just going off to another congress at Verona, when he slew himself. It was Canning's first work to draw a deep gulf between the policy of England and that of the Alliance. He sent Wellington to Verona, with "frank and peremptory declarations against any interference in Spain," and warmly protested when a hundred thousand Frenchmen poured over the Pyrenees "to save Spain for a descendant of Henry IV. and from ruin." In revenge he recognised the struggling republics of South America, for whom the gallant and unfortunate Cochrane was now fighting. "I resolved," he proudly boasted, "that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

John VI. of Portugal went back to Lisbon, and joined the Constitutionalists. But Dom Pedro, his eldest son, now became the "constitutional emperor" of a free Brazil. Dom Miguel, John's second son, put himself at the head of an absolutist reaction in Portugal (1824). Canning persuaded the king to recognise Brazilian independence. "But," complained Canning, "the ink with which this agreement was written was scarcely dry when the unexpected death of the King of Portugal reunited the two crowns" (1826). Dom Pedro resigned Portugal to his seven-year-old daughter Maria, and stayed in Brazil. But Dom Miguel revolted against the regency of his sister Isabella, and absolutist Spain began a war "in hatred of the new institutions of Portugal," in favour of the would-be despot. Canning resolved to interfere. "On Saturday," he told the Commons, "the Cabinet came to a decision. On Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty. On Monday it was communicated to Parliament, and on this Tuesday the troops are on their march for embarkation." The Spaniards now withdrew from Portugal, and Canning's vigour secured for the time the throne of the little queen.

The Greeks had risen in revolt against the hateful tyranny of the Turks, and all that was generous and enthusiastic in Europe wished heartily for their success. Byron forsook his life of idleness and selfishness in Italy to die for Greek liberty amidst the fever-stricken swamps of Missolonghi,

and Cochrane was busy in organising a Greek navy. Canning fully sympathised with them. The generous but weak-willed Alexander of Russia died in 1825, and his successor, the strong and autocratic Nicholas, had less zeal for the Hellenic cause, but more desire for Russian aggrandisement. About the same time Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, sent his son Ibrahim Pasha with a well-drilled army to help his suzerain the Sultan. In despair the Greeks implored the protection of England, and Canning signed on 6th July 1827 the *Treaty of London*, by which England and Russia pledged themselves to offer their mediation, and insist on a truce. Vague orders were sent to Sir Edward Codrington, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, and he was told that if necessary he might enforce the armistice by cannon shot, "although the measure is not to be adopted in a hostile spirit."

Ibrahim Pasha had just been joined by an Egyptian squadron, now anchored in the bay of *Navarino*, the ancient Pylos. Codrington was now joined by the Russian and French squadrons, and persuaded Ibrahim to accept a truce of twenty days. But the Pasha, furious on hearing that Cochrane's wild followers had attacked Patras, wreaked horrible barbarities in the Morea. On 20th October 1827 the three squadrons sailed into Navarino bay to enforce the truce, and, almost by chance, the Turks fired on an English ship's boat, and brought about a general action. The Turkish fleet was altogether destroyed. "Out of a fleet of 60 men-of-war," wrote Codrington, "there remained only one frigate and fifteen smaller vessels in a state ever to be again put to sea." But Canning was already in his grave. He had restored England's reputation abroad as the friend of freedom and of national rights, and had proclaimed the principle of the *non-intervention* of one nation in the internal affairs of another against the combined policy of the Holy Alliance.

6. Peel was now Home Secretary, and though an enemy of all changes in the constitution, he was a first-rate practical man of business. For many years the virtuous Romilly had laid bare the abuses of the *Criminal Law*. Men could be hanged for over two hundred offences, including breaking down the head of a fish-pond, being found on the highway with a blackened face, injuring Westminster Bridge, or personating out-pensioners of Greenwich Hospital. But juries refused to convict and judges to sentence criminals to

Reforms at
home, 1822-27.
Criminal Law.

such a monstrous punishment, so that many went scot free. Yet Eldon and the old Tories upheld the system, and Romilly had found it hard to pass bills which made it no longer capital to pick pockets or steal linen from a bleaching-ground. On his death the accomplished Sir James Mackintosh proposed more sweeping measures ; but it was not until 1823, when Peel took up the question, that five statutes exempting from capital punishment about a hundred felonies passed with hardly any opposition. Peel also reformed the unequal and oppressive marriage laws, and in 1826 consolidated much of the criminal law with great success.

Robinson, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, was a weak man, but he was guided by Huskisson, a "tall, slouching, ignoble-looking man, agreeable, unassuming, slow in speech, and with a downcast look, with no pretensions to eloquence, though luminous on his own subject," than whom "there was no man so well versed in finance, commerce, trade and colonial matters." Under his auspices a revolution in trade and finance was carried out. Robinson brought the finances into order, got rid of the delusive old *Sinking Fund*, reduced the interest of the war debt (much of which had been borrowed at 4 and 5 per cent.), gave a death-blow to the bounty system, and lowered a large number of war duties. For several years there was great prosperity, but in 1825 a severe *Commercial Crisis* revived the memories of 1720 and 1793. Robinson still talked of our progress, and Cobbett laughed at him as "Prosperity Robinson." To meet the evil, the Government allowed *joint stock banks* to be established, and abolished bank notes under £5. But in his pungent *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther* Sir Walter Scott raised almost as great a storm in Scotland against the latter measure as Swift had excited in Ireland against Wood's Halfpence, and the Government gave way, so that Scotland still has £1 notes. The crisis brought about Scott's ruin, from rash and unlucky speculations.

The Navigation Acts had long been justly regarded as the pillars of our naval supremacy ; but they were no longer necessary, and had always cost a great deal.

The United States had retaliated by adopting *Reciprocity*. our policy, so that because England would not let their ships trade freely with England, they refused to allow our ships to trade freely with America. The result was that vessels of both nations made half their voyages in ballast. Continental nations, led by Prussia, now followed the same

policy. To avoid a long conflict of duties and difficulties, Huskisson carried an Act which allowed the Crown to make treaties with foreign nations to admit their ships into our harbours in return for equal privileges to English traders. He thus laid down the doctrine of *Reciprocity*. The large reductions on duties which gave new life to the woollen and silk trades were an important step towards *Free Trade*. The repeal of the *Combination Acts* allowed workmen to form trades' unions, to bargain on fair terms with their masters for wages. But the hostility of the workmen and of Eldon's party prevented the repeal of the *Spitalfields Act*, which gave power to the magistrates to fix the wages of the East End silk-weavers. David Ricardo, perhaps the greatest intellect among English political economists, sat in Parliament for Portarlington, and the schemes of Huskisson flowed largely from his teaching, but he died in 1824 before many were carried out. The Radical Joseph Hume did a very useful work in looking into details and urging economy.

7. "The language of the Tory party," said a close observer, "is now universal and undisguised abuse of Canning." "Liverpool," wrote Charles Wynn, "is indifferent to everything but repose, and seeks by any temporising measure to delay the evil hour of rupture and collision." "The Cabinet," sneered Brougham, "resembled the chequered keys of a harpsichord, alternately black and white, down the whole line." At the general election of 1826, the Canningite Palmerston, though Secretary-at-War, was opposed by his "Protestant" (foe of Catholic emancipation) colleague Goulburn, for Cambridge University, and vented his spleen by denouncing the "stupid old Tory party that thwarted the Government," and called the Premier "a spoony," the Chancellor "an old woman," and wondered why the "fresh-minded and enlightened" Peel should "run in such a pack." On 17th February 1827 Liverpool was smitten with apoplexy, and the crisis came. George was now forced to "swallow a bitter pill and send for Canning." Peel, Wellington, Eldon, and the rest of the old Tories threw up their offices. But Canning managed to form a ministry with the strong support of his faithful little band of followers; though the king made him take as Chancellor his foe Copley, a brilliant and astute lawyer (who now became Lord Lyndhurst), and also prevented Palmerston receiving a higher office. Court favour was, however, sought by reviving the office of Lord High Admiral, and giving it to the Duke of Clarence, now become, by the Duke of York's

Canning's
Ministry and
death, 1827.

death, heir to the throne. A little later, the great Whig Lord Lansdowne (Lord Henry Petty), and Tierney, the Whig leader, entered the Cabinet.

The new Government received a damaging defeat on the corn question. But Canning's health was now breaking up. "He felt," he told the king, "as if every limb was alive like an eel, and lay all night as broad awake as if it were mid-day." He struggled on bravely for a while, but on 8th August 1827 he died, in the very same room of the Duke of Devonshire's house at Chiswick in which Charles Fox had breathed his last. "He was," said even the Radical Byron, "a genius, almost a universal one, an orator, a wit, a poet, and a statesman." He had been attacked for ambition and want of seriousness. "When he is serious," said an opponent, "he is like Samson in a wig. Call him the conductor of the affairs of a great nation, and it seems as absurd as if a butterfly were to teach bees to make honey." But his flippancy was always in his talk rather than in his mind, thus hiding from careless eyes his real depth of feeling and strength of purpose. In his later years he nobly redeemed the mistakes of his earlier life, and his death removed England's greatest statesman.

8. Canning's death broke up the ministry. The king made Lord Goderich ("Prosperity Robinson") Prime Minister, and Huskisson took the Colonial Office and the leadership of the Commons. But George again refused to have Palmerston at the Exchequer, and forced in his place the common-place high-Tory Herries. This provoked violent quarrels inside the Cabinet, and the news of Navarino found them wretchedly divided. At last "Goody Goderich" (so the weak minister was nicknamed) went to the king in despair, and George told him to "go home and take care of himself." "Goderich began to cry, and his Majesty offered him his handkerchief."

*Goderich's
failure, 1827.*

9. Wellington now formed a ministry, in which Peel was Home Secretary, and Lyndhurst Chancellor. To the disgust of Canning's widow and friends, Huskisson, Palmerston, Grant, and Lamb agreed to stop on, and the Catholic question was, as before, made an open one. "Any ministry," declared the bigoted Duke of Newcastle, "which excludes Lord Eldon and includes Mr. Huskisson cannot gain my confidence." But the two elements could not hold together, and Wellington was very angry when Huskisson told the Liverpool electors that he had "positive pledges that his Grace would tread in

*The Wellington
and Peel Minis-
try, 1828-30.*

all respects in the footsteps of Mr. Canning." In February 1828 Lord John Russell carried the *Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts*, which, though for a century never carried out, still delighted the bigots by their presence in the statute-book. The Canningites voted with the Whigs, and to avoid defeat Peel proposed a compromise that all parties accepted.

On 19th May 1828 Huskisson again voted against his colleagues for giving to Birmingham the seats of corrupt and disfranchised East Retford. He went home and wrote in a pet to the Duke "to afford him an opportunity of placing his office in other hands." Wellington took him at his word, and filled up his place. Palmerston, Lamb, Grant, and Dudley went out with him. The ministry was now purely Tory, if not purely "Protestant." It was so strong that Wellington was able to turn out the Lord High Admiral, who had set every one by the ears by his meddling incompetence and eccentricity.

10. The Catholic question now came to a crisis. The Irish Catholics had hoped that Pitt's Union would free them from the rule of the Protestant minority, and prepare the way for their admission to Parliament and office. But the bigotry and obstinacy of George III. had put off Catholic emancipation, and Dublin Castle was still practically controlled by the Orange faction. So the Union proved a severe disappointment to them. The wretched land system left the condition of the rapidly increasing millions of poor Irishmen as miserable as ever, and outrages, cattle-houghing, and murders went on worse than before. After 1810 the followers of Pitt were free to raise the Catholic claims again, and from 1812 onwards Catholic emancipation was an "open question" in every ministry. It was upheld by Castlereagh as well as Canning, and the eloquent Grattan now pleaded for it in the united Parliament. Wellington, Peel, and the high Tories led the opposition. Yet several times the Commons passed Catholic relief bills, which were thrown out by the Lords. The Marquess Wellesley, Wellington's elder brother, had been sent to Ireland in 1821 as a Liberal Lord-Lieutenant, but his haughtiness and pompous Eastern ways made him quite unfitted for the post, and even Canning laughed when he believed that a riot at a theatre in which a quart bottle was thrown at his box was a deliberate attempt to murder him. But Wellesley had the courage to quarrel with the Orange faction, though all his liberality would not conciliate the Catholics.

Catholic
Emancipation,
1812-29.

In 1823 the *Catholic Association* was formed, and collected a *Catholic rent*. The founder was *Daniel O'Connell*, the greatest and most national of Irish agitators, a Catholic, a Celt, a country gentleman of large property and good family, the first man at the Irish bar, and a speaker with extraordinary powers of stirring the emotions and ruling the hearts of his countrymen, brilliant and incisive, though coarse, violent, and unscrupulous. He now became absolute master of Ireland. At his bidding all crime and outrage ceased, and the people agitated in a lawful way. They held monster meetings, and the Protestants of the north became alarmed at their quiet determination. The weak and divided Government at last ventured to put down the *Association* (1825), but a new Association was at once started "for the purposes of education and charity," and went on much as before. In 1826 there was a general election, and O'Connell's candidate in Waterford county easily defeated the Beresfords, though hitherto the forty-shilling "freeholders" had flocked to the poll like sheep to vote for their landlords. In 1828 O'Connell became himself a candidate for County Clare against Vesey Fitzgerald, a popular Irish landlord and friend of the Catholic claims. The "forties" followed their priests, and returned O'Connell by an enormous majority, though as a Catholic he could not take his seat.

Civil war was now nearly breaking out, as was shown when the audacious Lawless attempted an agitation tour in Ulster. "Yet the Government," said the Irish orator Sheil, "folded their arms and sat inactive as if two gladiators were crossing their swords for their recreation." Lord Anglesey, the well-meaning but weak Lord-Lieutenant, was at last dismissed for telling O'Connell that he differed from the Duke. But the prospect of half the counties of Ireland turning out their Tory landlords for nominees of O'Connell at the next election convinced Government that it could no longer resist. Peel's clear good sense now got the better of his prejudices, and the soldier Prime Minister, seeing that he was outflanked, hastened to entrench the Tory army in a new position. When Parliament met in February 1829, Peel proposed that the Association should be put down, that the Catholics should be admitted to Parliament on taking a new oath, but that, as a safeguard, the franchise in Ireland should be raised to £10 to put an end to the power of the poverty-stricken "freeholders for life." The high Tories complained they were betrayed, and waited for a chance of

turning out the traitors. Oxford University rejected Peel for the narrow Protestant Sir Robert Inglis, and so high did the no-popery feeling run that Peel thought himself lucky to secure a seat in Parliament as member for the pocket borough of Westbury, and Wellington was compelled to fight a duel with Lord Winchelsea, who had written foolishly about his "insidious designs to blind the Protestant and High Church party." But the Bills easily got through Parliament, and more than a third of the bishops followed the primates of England and Ireland in voting for them. Eldon exhorted the king to stand firm. "My father," George had declared, "would have laid his head on the block rather than yield; and I am equally ready to lay my head there for the same cause." But he had neither courage nor constancy, and gave way at once. "After all that I had heard in my visits," lamented Eldon, "not a day's delay. God bless us and His Church!" O'Connell, not allowed to sit for Clare without a fresh election, was returned without opposition. Flushed with his great triumph, he now started a new agitation for the *Repeal of the Union*.

11. Wellington's foreign policy was a complete failure. The king's speech lamented the "conflict at Navarino with an ancient ally, and hoped that this untoward event would not be followed by further hostilities." Wellington's Foreign Policy, 1828-30. Greek freedom was now safe, though Wellington sought to confine the new state to the Peloponnesus. But Russia profited by England's weakness to pose as the liberator of the Christian subjects of the Turks. In 1829 she invaded Turkey, won liberty for Wallachia and Moldavia, and secured larger, though still scanty, limits for Greece by the *Treaty of Adrianople*.

In Portugal Dom Miguel had dethroned his niece, and made himself absolutist king in 1828. Wellington resolved "that no revolutionary movement shall come from England," and took up a neutral attitude. Wellington was now looked on as the great upholder of absolutism throughout all Europe, and the reactionary Polignac became minister to the bigoted Charles X. (King of France, after his brother Louis XVIII.'s death in 1824), because of his trust in the Duke's support.

Wellington, Peel, and Lyndhurst were the real governors of the country. They had been compelled to surrender their principles at home, and break the continuity of our policy abroad. They had ignored the growing distress. They had broken up their party. On 26th June 1830 the death of George IV. was the beginning of further troubles.

CHAPTER II.

William IV., 1830-1837.

1. "William IV.," says Greville, "came to the throne at the mature age of sixty-five, and was so excited by his exaltation, that he nearly went mad, and distinguished himself by a thousand eccentricities of language and conduct, though he afterwards sobered down." But "he was a good-natured, kind-hearted, and well-meaning man, and he always acted an honourable and straightforward, if not always a sound and discreet part." "His simplicity and affability were very striking," and he "looked like a respectable old admiral." Queen Adelaide was "very ugly, with a horrid complexion, but good manners." William was popular, and a reformer, but he worked very cordially with the Wellington Government, though the Duke had turned him out of the High Admiralship in 1828.

2. A wave of revolution now spread over Europe. Charles X. of France and Polignac tried to put down the liberty of the press. The Paris mob rose in revolution, and in the street battles of the "three glorious days of July" drove out Charles, and made Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the "citizen" king of the French, with a constitution of the English sort. Belgium turned out the Dutch King of the Netherlands. German and Italian Liberals strove to upset the Vienna settlement. Poland rose against Russia. The work of the Holy Alliance was everywhere crumbling to pieces.

3. In England the Liberal movement took the form of a new cry for Reform of Parliament. Ever since the Revolution of 1688 the bad constitution of Parliament had made itself felt. Each English shire, great or small, returned two members, and none but the freeholders had votes. Many of the boroughs, sending two members apiece to the House, were wretched villages or, like Gatton and Old Sarum, had hardly any inhabitants at all, and the representatives of even the larger boroughs were in many cases chosen by a close corporation, or by a narrow and corrupt electorate. Seats in Parliament could be bought, and many members sat as the nominees of great lords. Scotland was hardly represented at all, so narrow was the franchise there. The new towns

Character of
William IV.

Revolutions on
the Continent,
1830.

Revival of the
Reform Agita-
tion, 1830.

of northern England had as a rule no members, so that after the Industrial Revolution the need of Reform was greater than ever. Early in George III.'s reign Chatham had declared "that the small boroughs were the rotten part of the constitution, but though the limb is mortified, amputation might be death. A gentler remedy is to be found in giving a new member for each shire, for the knights of the shire approach nearest the constitutional representation of the country, because they represent the soil." Junius maintained that "if any part of the representative body be not chosen by the people, that part vitiates and corrupts the whole." Even Burke (who revered the constitution as a living sacred thing, to tamper with which would destroy it and bring about anarchy) recognised that "the great subject of apprehension and redress now was the distemper of Parliament." William Pitt, when he first entered Parliament, brought forward a Reform Bill, and was well supported, though after he became minister he accepted his defeats as final. But in Ireland there had been a Reform Agitation of the most vigorous kind, even after the French Revolution had frightened Pitt into reaction, and the Union brought about a wholesale disfranchisement of Irish rotten boroughs, without any of the fearful results expected.

Charles Grey brought forward motions in favour of Reform on three occasions, though he never met with much support. Gradually the Whig party took up the question, and, after Grey went to the Lords, Brougham and Lord John Russell (son of the Duke of Bedford) took his place. Out of doors the Radicals were all zealous Reformers. Even after 1822, when Canning and Huskisson had turned attention to other channels, the movement was carried on by singling out specially corrupt boroughs and insisting on their losing their members. Thus Grampound in Cornwall was disfranchised, and its members given to Yorkshire, as the Tories would not allow them to Leeds. In 1828 the question whether the members for East Retford should go to Birmingham or to the hundred of Bassetlaw (the district round Retford) caused the breach between Huskisson and the ministry of Wellington. In opposition the Canningites forgot their old leader's hatred of Reform. Wellington even thought to make up for his quarrel with the Protestant Tories by negotiations with Huskisson. But Huskisson was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, and his death made it easier for the Canningites

to become absorbed among the Whigs. The popular cry for Reform rose higher. Suffering artisans believed that a reformed Parliament would mean more work and higher wages, and the unrepresented middle classes of the North and the great towns clamoured eagerly for it. A political Union of Reformers was formed at Birmingham by the zealous Attwood, and similar associations spread over England. The general election after William's accession destroyed the Government majority, and the popular boroughs and the counties (whose voice then had immense weight as evidence of public opinion) sent up Reformers. The blind hatred of the old-Tories to the Government which had betrayed them made these changes easier.

4. Wellington thought he saw a revolution coming, and declared that the present system was perfect, and that he would always resist its alteration. The feeling against him rose high, and on 15th November 1830 the Government resigned after a defeat on Sir Henry Parnell's motion for a select committee on the civil list.

The Grey
Ministry,
1830-34.

William IV. now sent for Earl Grey, who formed a strong reforming Cabinet. The veteran Lord Lansdowne was President of the Council; the restless and turbulent Brougham was made Chancellor and a baron; and the Radicals were pleased by Lord Durham, Grey's son-in-law, becoming Privy Seal. Lord Althorp, son of Lord Spencer, led the House of Commons as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was a "short, thick-set man, with a dark red complexion, black hair, very ordinary and farmer-like style of dress, and no particular vivacity of countenance." His "remarkable *bonhomie*," says Greville, "his unalterable good nature and good temper, the conviction of his honesty and sincerity, and of his want of ambition, single-mindedness, and unfeigned desire to get out of the cares of office, have procured him a greater personal regard and greater influence than any minister I recollect." But he had more of the sportsman and country gentleman than the statesman about him, and was "sluggish, inert, vacillating, unforeseeing." In the other posts the Canningites mustered strong, including Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, Melbourne (William Lamb) as Home Secretary, and Goderich as Colonial Secretary. Lord John Russell was Paymaster, though not in the Cabinet; the brilliant orator Stanley was Irish Secretary, and Sir James Graham First Lord of the Admiralty.

5. On 1st March 1831, Lord John Russell brought forward a Reform Bill which, on 21st March, passed its second reading by one vote, and came to grief in committee. The ministers forced the king to dissolve. At the new elections the Reformers made a clean sweep of the counties, and by September a new Reform Bill had got through the Commons by more than a hundred majority. It was thrown out by the Lords on 8th October, and fierce riots raged all over the country, of which the worst was at Bristol. In March 1832 Lord John carried a third bill through the Commons, which, through the action of Lord Harrowby and the "waverers," was read a second time in the Lords by a majority of nine; but, on 7th May, Lyndhurst carried against the Government a resolution postponing the disfranchising clauses.

The agitation was now terrible. The people had cried out for "the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," and its most vital part was in danger. The Birmingham Union resolved to march 200,000 strong to London, and petitions were signed that no supplies should be granted till the Bill was passed. Grey pressed William to make enough new peers to carry the Bill, but the king refused, worked upon by the queen and the Tory ladies at Court. The ministry resigned, and Wellington boldly undertook to form another. But Peel wisely held aloof, thinking that a Tory Reform Bill, after Tory Catholic emancipation, would destroy his reputation; and the Duke, who saw that any minister would have to pass some sort of Reform Bill, gave up his attempt. To prevent the wholesale creation of new peers, Wellington and a large number of lords withdrew, and on 4th June 1832 the *Reform Bill* was finally carried. Its provisions were—

(a) All boroughs, 56 in number, with less than 2000 inhabitants, were entirely disfranchised (Schedule A). (b) All boroughs with between 2000 and 4000 inhabitants were cut down to one member (Schedule B). (c) The 143 seats thus vacant were given to (1) the larger counties, some of which were broken up into two or even three divisions, each returning two members; (2) the unrepresented boroughs, including Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and other great manufacturing towns, several boroughs in London (Tower Hamlets, Finsbury, Marylebone, Lambeth, and Greenwich), which had two members each, and 21 smaller but still considerable places which returned one member. (d) The county franchise was enlarged by adding copyholders and leaseholders, and £50 tenants-at-will (Chandos clause) to the freeholders. (e) The irregularities of the borough franchise were abolished, many electors in the freer towns lost their votes, and a new uniform qualification of occupation of a house of £10 a year, ratable value, was substituted, resident freemen created before

1831 being allowed to keep their votes. (f) The duration of a county election was reduced to two days (instead of fifteen), and of borough elections to one. (g) Scotland received eight new members, taken from England, and holders, even by a long lease, of land or houses worth £10, and tenants-at-will paying £50 a year, were enfranchised. The borough franchise was as in England. (h) Ireland got five new borough members, but the forty-shilling freeholders remained disfranchised.

The Tories rightly described the Reform Bill as a revolution, though it was a long time before its full effects were felt. It dethroned the landed aristocracy, who, since 1688, had practically governed the country, and transferred the balance of power to the middle classes, for the new qualifications generally allowed the farmers to return the county members, and the shopkeepers those for the boroughs. Very few working-men could now get a vote, and those who had one already in places like Westminster or Preston lost it. But though the Reform Bill did not bring in *democracy*, it prepared the way for it. Vainly the Whigs protested that it was a *final measure*. It was only a stepping-stone to further changes. But it was at the time a sensible and practical compromise between the old Constitution and the mere representation of numbers, which the Radicals favoured.

6. The first reformed Parliament met early in 1833 anxious for more changes. Its members were, as a rule, older, more active, more talkative, and more hard-working than the old ones. "The first thing that strikes one," says Greville, "is its inferiority to preceding Houses of Commons, and the presumption, impertinence, and self-sufficiency of the new members." But Greville belonged to the old governing class. "There exists no *party* but that of the Government; the Irish act in a body under O'Connell to the number of about 40; the Radicals are scattered up and down without a leader, numerous, restless, turbulent, bold, and active; the Tories, without a head, frightened, angry, and sulky; Peel, without a party, prudent, cautious, and dexterous, playing a deep waiting game of scrutiny and observation."

Character of
the Reformed
Parliament,
1833.

7. A great series of deep-reaching changes was the result of the new energy which the Reform Bill had produced. The first question was, as usual, Ireland, which O'Connell had set on fire by his demand for Repeal. But the worst feature in Ireland was the *Tithe War*, caused by the refusal of the Catholic peasants to pay any longer for the support of the

Ireland, the
Church, and
Tithes, 1833-38.

Protestant Church. All sorts of outrages were committed ; and the clergy were often starving, for the collection of tithe had now become quite impossible. The Government advanced money to the Irish clergy, and tried to collect the tithes itself, but put off the final settlement of the question, and passed a *Coercion Act*. But in February 1833 Althorp had brought forward the *Church Temporalities (Ireland) Act*, which cut down the number and incomes of the Irish bishoprics, and included an *Appropriation Clause*, which directed that the surplus moneys should be devoted to any purpose that Parliament might direct. This was, however, given up because of the strong feeling against turning Church money to other than Church purposes. Crime rapidly diminished after the Coercion Act was passed, but the disturbances were soon revived. It was not until 1838 that a final *Irish Tithe Commutation Act* was passed, which turned the claim of a tenth of the produce into a fixed rent-charge. Before that several Tithe Bills had failed, owing to the Appropriation Clause. But in 1836 tithes in England were commuted into a rent-charge, fixed yearly by the average price of corn for the seven preceding years. Several other attempts to reform the Church were defeated ; but in 1836 an *Ecclesiastical Commission* was established, which put an end to many abuses and inequalities.

8. In the same session the slave question came up again. The slave-trade had almost died out since Brougham had made the Act of 1807 effectual by another Act **Abolition of Slavery, 1833.** which made it felony, and in 1823 Canning had carried some resolutions paving the way for the gradual abolition of slavery itself ; but the jealousy of the planters, and the mutinous spirit of the slaves, had made them of little real use. The reforming Parliament was strongly abolitionist, and though Althorp had wished to carry out Canning's plan of gradual emancipation, the anti-slavery party, headed by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, pressed for a more sweeping measure. In August 1833 Stanley, now Colonial Secretary, carried the *Emancipation Act*.

It provided that all slaves should be free after 1834, and children under six free at once. The rest were to work as apprentices for twelve years, giving three-quarters of their time for nothing, but this system was given up after four years. The planters were awarded £20,000,000 as compensation.

9. The reformed Parliament passed some useful minor

reforms; renewed the *Bank Charter*, and made bank-notes legal tender; and revised the Charter of the East India Company, so as to make the Company entirely a political body, and throw open Indian trade. New Poor Law, 1834. Its next great measure was the *New Poor Law* of 1834, which ended the degrading system of Poor Law doles in aid of wages, and modified the *Law of Settlement*, which had prevented labourers from taking their labour to the best market. It also put an end to the careless administration of the old Poor Law by the smaller parishes, and established *Unions* of several parishes, with a single workhouse big enough to be managed well, and governed by popularly elected *Guardians of the Poor*. It made a distinction between the idle and the destitute, and forbade *outdoor relief* to the able-bodied, who refused to go into the workhouse. It cut down the crushing burden of the poor-rate, which in some country parishes had risen so high that men had ceased to till the soil. In the long run it probably did more to improve the condition of the people than any other single measure of the time. But at first the change of system caused much hardship.

10. In 1835 the great series of changes was completed by the *Municipal Corporations Reform Act*, which did for the local parliaments of the boroughs what the *Municipal Reform, 1835.* Reform Bill had done for England's Parliament at Westminster. It put an end to the old confused state of things, and established in each corporate town a *Mayor*, chosen every year, and a popularly elected *Town-Council*, a third of which, however, the House of Lords required, was to consist of *Aldermen*, elected by the councillors from themselves or the electors. The old corporations had mostly been self-appointed, and were often scandalously corrupt. The new ones, though sometimes falling under the management of inferior men, did their work much better. Some small corporations were outside the Act. The vast vested interests of the City of London saved it also from reform.

11. Palmerston ruled like a despot over the foreign policy of England, and would not suffer the least interference from his colleagues. He strove to break with the *Palmerston's Foreign Policy, 1830-37.* bad traditions of Wellington, and bring back the liberal policy of his master Canning, though in his zeal for this he sometimes lost sight of Canning's doctrine of non-intervention. He was in sympathy therefore with the movements of 1830. He joined with Louis Philippe, the new king of the French, in winning the liberty of Belgium, and procured the throne for Leopold of Coburg,

the widower of the Princess Charlotte, who was limited by a constitution like the new one in France. As the Dutch would not give up Antwerp, the English fleet blockaded the Scheldt, while the French besieged the Citadel. This settled the whole business. In Portugal, Palmerston actively sympathised with the Constitutional party and the young Queen Maria, now so hard pressed by Dom Miguel that her father Dom Pedro came over from Brazil to help her. English volunteers poured in to her aid. Her English admiral, Napier, defeated her uncle's fleet, and in 1833 she was everywhere triumphant. A similar struggle broke out in Spain, where, in 1833, King Ferdinand died, leaving the throne to his infant daughter Isabella, with her mother Christina as regent. But their claims were contested by her uncle Don Carlos. A fierce civil war broke out, Carlos aiming at despotism, and professing *legitimist* principles, while the Christinos were, in name at least, constitutionalists. In 1834 Palmerston formed a *Quadruple Alliance* between the two peninsula queens and the English and French. This put a final end to Dom Miguel, and for a time settled the fate of Don Carlos, though he soon renewed the war, and was not finally beaten till 1840, the English legion of volunteers under General De Lacy Evans sharing largely in his defeat.

Constitutionalism was thus established all over the West, and, as Palmerston boasted, the Quadruple Alliance served as a powerful counterpoise to the East, where the principles of the Holy Alliance still prevailed owing to the close friendship of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The national and liberal movements in Germany and Italy were suppressed. The Czar Nicholas now crushed the Poland that the Vienna Congress had in a way restored, abolished its constitution, and annexed it to the Russian empire. It was impossible for Palmerston to prevent this. The Turks were now hard pressed by Mehemet Ali of Egypt, who had revolted from them and had overrun Syria and Asia Minor. To save Constantinople they called in Russian aid, in return for which the Bosphorus was opened to Russian ships by the treaty of *Unkiar Skelesi* (1833), despite the protests of England and France.

12. The Reform Government proved unsuccessful in administration and a failure in finance. Grey was neither strong nor careful enough to keep good discipline in his untrained and fiery Cabinet. "His tall, commanding, and dignified appearance," says Greville, "his flow of language,

graceful action, well-rounded periods, classical taste and legal knowledge, render him the first orator of his day, but his conduct is influenced by pride, vanity, caprice, indecision." Durham roughly insulted him and left the Government. In May 1834 Stanley, Graham, and Goderich (now Earl of Ripon) went out for fear of the Appropriation Clause. In July Grey himself resigned in disgust, and Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister. "He was," says Greville, "a very singular man. He lived surrounded by books, and could converse learnedly on almost all subjects. He was often paradoxical, and often coarse, terse, epigrammatic, acute, droll. He was never really fitted to be the leader of a party or the head of a government, for he had neither strong convictions, nor eager ambition, firmness, and resolution."

Break-up of
the Whig
Government,
1834.

13. The position of the Tories had been very peculiar during these years. Their opposition to reform had made them so unpopular that they were in a miserable minority, and high Tories like Croker vowed never to sit in a reformed House of Commons. But Peel knew that the middle classes were no revolutionists, and set about forming a new party adapted to the new state of things. He was brilliantly successful in and out of Parliament. The old Tories gradually came back to their allegiance, and the weakness of the Whigs bit by bit turned sensible men towards him, though his cold manners, his shyness and awkwardness, and his want of stirring principles or vivid enthusiasm, prevented him from being personally popular.

The Conserva-
tive Party.
Peel's Ministry,
1834-35.

"How enviable is Peel's position," wrote Greville in 1834; "in the prime of life, with an immense fortune, *facile princeps* in the House of Commons, unshackled by party convictions and prejudices, universally regarded as the ablest man, and with a very high character. No matter how unruly the House, he is sure of being heard with profound attention and respect. Except Stanley, he is the first and only real orator in it. His great merit consists in his judgment, tact, and discretion, his promptitude, knowledge, and great command over himself." Peel now offered a programme of good government, sound finance, moderate administrative reform, and the preservation of the existing constitution in Church and State. Dropping the discredited name of Tory, Peel's followers called themselves *Conservatives*, and were bitterly described by an enemy as "Tory men with Whig measures."

Peel was still playing his waiting game, but in November 1834, the king, now thoroughly sick of reform, took the pretext of Althorp becoming Lord Spencer to turn out Melbourne. Peel was travelling in Italy, and Wellington "played the part of a Richelieu for a brief time" by holding the Treasury and three Secretaryships. When Peel got home he took office, published his programme in his famous *Tamworth Manifesto*, and called together a new Parliament. The Conservatives gained enormously, but were still not quite a majority; and the unfriendliness of Stanley and his little party, who had refused office, completed their ruin.

14. Melbourne came back to power in April 1835 with most of his old colleagues, except Brougham, whose mad vagaries as Chancellor had done so much harm that he was shelved for ever. But the new ministry was wretchedly weak and divided. Attacked by its turbulent Radical supporters, and by the malice and rancour of Brougham, compromised by but afraid to quarrel with O'Connell and his "tail" of Repealers (whose hostility would have turned it out of office), patronised and exposed in turn by Peel and the Conservatives, it failed in its measures of Church reform, failed in its Irish policy, and carried nothing great but the Municipal Reform Act. It was still clinging to place when, on 20th June 1837, the old king died.

Melbourne's
Second Min-
istry, 1835-41.

CHAPTER III.

Victoria—Melbourne and Peel, 1837-1846.

1. The new Queen was only eighteen years old, and had been brought up so quietly by her mother, the Duchess of Kent (who lived apart from the Court, having quarrelled with King William), that very few people knew much about her. But her first acts pleased everybody. Greville speaks of her "perfect calmness and self-possession, her graceful modesty and propriety," in the trying time of her accession. "If she had been my own daughter," said Wellington, "I could not have desired to see her perform her part better."

Queen Victoria
and the
Melbourne
Ministry,
1837-1841.

Melbourne's tottering Government was now propped up for a time by the young Queen's support. "She has really

nothing to do with anybody else," says Greville. "Melbourne is at her side at least six hours in the day : and she fretted herself into an illness at the notion of his going out of office. His manner to her is perfect ; hers to him is simple and natural. It is become his province to educate, instruct, and form the most interesting mind and character in the world."

In 1838 the Government, anxious to fulfil the hopes of its supporters, and to do signal service to the sister country, carried a *Poor Law for Ireland*, despite the violent resistance of Irish members of all parties. This brought into Ireland the English system with a strict workhouse test, but without the law of settlement. This Bill did as much as any law could to stop pauperism in a poor country. The *Irish Tithe Bill*—a long-desired reform—(1838) and *Irish Corporation Bill* (1840) also got through at last, though much cut about by the Opposition. But there was much disaffection among the Canadian French, and a rising among the negroes in Jamaica. The budget was high, and Whig finance was still a byword. Even the *Penny Postage system*, carried in 1839 at the suggestion of Rowland Hill, though a great blessing to the people, was a dead loss to the revenue.

2. The state of the country grew worse. Workmen suffered from long spells of forced idleness through bad trade, or laboured hard in miserable workshops Chartism, 1838-39. for a wretched pittance. Floating discontent found one expression in the schemes of the brilliant Welshman Robert Owen to reorganise society on the basis of *Socialism* (see Chapter VI.), and came to a head in the *Chartist* movement. In 1838 Feargus O'Connor, a boisterous Irishman, bold in speech but irresolute in action and unstable in character, formerly one of O'Connell's "Tail," became the leader of those who demanded the *Five Points* of the *People's Charter*, which gave a unity of aim to the hitherto divided and scattered reformers.

The Points were—1. Universal suffrage. 2. Vote by ballot. 3. Annual Parliaments. 4. The abolition of the property qualification for Members of Parliament. 5. Payment of Members. 6. Equal electoral districts was originally a sixth Point, but this was left out in the National Petition.

At bottom the movement was *social*, not *political* ; what the poor Chartists felt was the dulness, hopelessness, and misery of the workman's daily life. Their mistake was in

thinking that changes in the State alone would make it brighter and better. No doubt it could do something, but they too completely believed that political reforms could bring about social amelioration.

"The principle of the People's Charter," said the hot-headed preacher Stephens, "is the right of every man to have his home, his hearth, and his happiness. The question of universal suffrage is after all a *knife-and-fork question*. It means that every workman has a right to have a good hat and coat, a good roof, a good dinner, no more work than will keep him in health, and as much wages as will keep him in plenty."

In 1839 Attwood, the old Reformer, laid before Parliament the *National Petition* of the Chartists, with more than a million signatures. But the Commons took no heed of it, and the "physical force" party (so the more desperate Chartists were called) drilled their followers, held great meetings, and got ready for revolt. Riots burst out at Birmingham, at Devizes, and Llanidloes; and the excitable Welsh colliers and ironworkers marched down from the Monmouthshire hills to seize Newport. A regular fight broke out in Newport streets; but the brave Mayor, Phillips, scattered the Chartist bands, and their leaders, Frost, Jones, and Williams, were tried and punished. Want of leaders and organisation, and the great difference in objects among the Chartists themselves, led to their failure. For a while Chartism was stayed.

3. The best thing about the Government was still Palmerston's foreign policy. His great aim now was to destroy the Holy Alliance in the East, and he wrongly believed that Turkey could be made to live a new life as a civilised European power, and be England's greatest support against Russia and her allies. Along with France, he succeeded in breaking the bondage of Turkey to Russia, which sprang from the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelesi. But France was playing her own game, and her restless and crafty Minister Thiers backed up Mehemet Ali (now once more in revolt against the Sultan), in his second conquest of Syria from the Turks. Palmerston hotly resented this. "The mistress of India," he cried, "could not permit France to be mistress of the road to India." So, in July 1840, he formed a *Quadruple Alliance* with Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Turkey, which left France quite by itself. In November Beyrout was bombarded and Acre taken. The Egyptians were soon driven out of Syria. Thiers was eager for war, but shrewd Louise Philippe was

Palmerston at
the Foreign
Office, 1837-41.

too weak at home to run the risk, and Palmerston won the day; but he lost the friendship of France, and laid himself open to the charge of meddlesomeness abroad and arbitrary self-will at home. England also succeeded in the *Opium War* with China, which brought the English the little island of Hong Kong, and opened five Chinese ports to our trade (1842). But it was long before the terrible disasters of the *Afghan War* turned into victories for the English.

4. In May 1839 Melbourne saw his majority reduced to five votes, and gave up office. But Peel would not form a ministry unless the Whig ladies in the Queen's Household went out along with their husbands. The Bedchamber Question, 1839. The Queen grew indignant. "They wished to treat me like a girl," she cried; "but I will show them that I am Queen of England." "I have stood by you," she said to her ministers, "and now you must stand by me." For two years more her favour alone kept them in power, for the changes now made in the ministry did not strengthen it much, though they brought into place as Secretary-at-War the famous essayist, historian, talker and orator, Thomas Babington Macaulay. The meaner Tories cried loudly against the Queen, but as time went on Peel himself came to see that she was mostly right.

On 10th February 1840 the Queen married her cousin Albert, younger son of the Duke of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha, who, though only twenty years old, proved from the first a wise, prudent, and unselfish adviser, honestly and modestly striving to fulfil his duty, while keeping himself in the background to avoid jealousy. Prince Albert (1840-61) and the New Position of the Crown. "I study the politics of the day," wrote the Prince Consort (this was what people called him from the first, though it was not till 1857 that it became his official title), "with great industry. I speak quite openly to the Ministers on all subjects, and endeavour quietly to be of as much use to Victoria as I can. In foreign affairs I think I have done some good." Himself learning much from Melbourne, he saved the Queen from too great dependence on a falling minister. He saw that "if monarchy was to rise in popularity, it could only be by the sovereign leading a good life, and keeping quite aloof from party." With great tact, and without very much friction, he brought the monarchy into touch with the state of things brought about by the Reform Bill. He did for the Crown what Wellington did for the House of Lords. Just as the Duke saw that the Lords must give up setting themselves

against the national will strongly expressed, so did the Prince see that the Crown could no longer exercise those *legal* rights for which George III. had fought so manfully. Like the Lords, the Crown now became a checking and regulating, rather than a moving, force. It remained as the pledge and symbol of the unity and continuity of the national life, and could do good work in tempering the evils of absolute party government. Such of the royal *prerogatives* as were not dead must be carried out by ministers. The royal *influence* continued to run through every branch of the State.

5. Beaten hopelessly in the old Parliament, the Whigs went to the country with a plan to change the shifting corn tax into a *moderate fixed duty*. But no one believed in the sincerity of their sudden conversion to free trade, and the frightened landlords and farmers sent back a majority of ninety Conservatives to uphold English agriculture in the new Parliament. "I knew it would be so," exclaimed Melbourne, as he resigned. On 4th September 1841 Peel was admitted to office, and was well received by Queen and Prince, though he had cut down the Prince's income, and disputed his position. Yet "it was," says Greville, "a day of severe trial to the Queen. She looked flushed, and her heart was brim-full; but she preserved complete self-possession and dignity, though her feelings were evident. Peel told me that she had behaved perfectly to him."

The Conserva-
tive Reaction
and the Elec-
tion of 1841.

The new ministry was very strong in talent and experience. Headed by the "greatest member of Parliament that has ever lived," it included the brilliant and versatile Lyndhurst as Chancellor, and the experienced Goulburn as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Duke of Wellington was broken in health, but he sat in the Cabinet without office. The dashing and eloquent Stanley, "the Rupert of debate," and the able, though unpopular, Graham, were now quite at one with the Conservatives, and were Colonial and Home Secretaries, while Lord Aberdeen again had charge of Foreign Affairs and Ripon was President of the Board of Trade. Among the young men, gradually coming into notice in minor offices, were William Gladstone, son of a rich Liverpool merchant, and "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories," whose ability, eloquence, and high character already marked him out for a great career; the accomplished and popular Sidney Herbert and Lord Canning, son of the famous statesman, and Lord Dalhousie, both of whom were soon to make great names for themselves in India.

Peel's Ministry,
1841-46.

"It is remarkable," says Greville, "to see Peel's complete mastery in Parliament over friends and foes. His own party have surrendered at discretion, and he has them as

well disciplined as the crew of a man-of-war. There is every probability of his being minister for as many years as his health may endure. There can be no doubt now that he is a very great man." But difficulties soon sprang up on every side which tried the ministry to the uttermost. Peel did best where the qualities of the sober and sensible man of business were most wanted, but he lacked sympathy, insight, and foresight, and this led to his final fall.

6. Aberdeen ended the long-standing dispute with the United States, about the exact boundary of Canada, by the *Ashburton Treaty* of 1842. But there was another boundary question, in the wild north-west region of *Oregon*, now becoming ripe for settlement. Long negotiations had almost brought about an understanding, when the new President, Polk, headed the anti-English "Democratic" party in America in rejecting all compromise. In 1845 war seemed unavoidable, but the Americans acted more sensibly than they talked, and the moderation and good sense of Aberdeen led to renewed negotiations. In 1846 the Oregon question was peacefully settled by a treaty which left Vancouver's Island to the English, and secured the navigation of the Columbia river to both nations. Foreign Policy.
Oregon, 1842-46.

Peel's ministry began much better with France than Palmerston ended, for Peel was a great friend of Louis Philippe and his Protestant minister Guizot, who had replaced Thiers, and was a student and writer on English history, and an admirer of the English Constitution. But in 1844 a French admiral arrested the English consul at *Tahiti*, and annexed the island. Bad feelings were roused, before France was persuaded to disavow the admiral's act, and restore Tahiti to its queen, Pomare. Personal interviews between Victoria and Louis Philippe again restored the much-talked of "*entente cordiale*." But in 1846 the King of the French broke his most solemn pledges by arranging a double marriage between the young Queen Isabella of Spain and her unworthy cousin, Francis of Assis, Duke of Cadiz, and between her younger sister, the Infanta Louisa, and his favourite son, the Duke of Montpensier, having good hopes that the Spanish succession would thus fall to the Orleans family. But his low cunning overreached itself, and, perhaps, cost him his own throne, while England and France were for a third time within six years brought to the verge of war. Tahiti, 1844.
The Spanish Marriages, 1846.

7. In 1840 O'Connell again started the *Repeal* agitation, but the movement had but little life in it. In 1842 a new party arose. A band of ardent enthusiastic young Irishmen, headed by Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Davis, John Dillon, and Thomas Meagher started the *Nation* newspaper in Dublin, to "represent the new mind which has grown up among us, and unite Protestant and Catholic, Milesian and Cromwellian, the Irishman of a hundred generations, and the stranger within our gates in a common national party." The fiery verses and impassioned prose of the Young Ireland party stirred up deep feeling. Their motives were lofty :—

"The work that should to-day be wrought defer not to the morrow.
The help that should within be sought scorn from without to borrow.
Old maxims these, yet stout and true, they speak in fullest tone,
To do at once what is to do, and trust ourselves alone."

They did not stick at rebellion, and gloried in spirited lines at the treasons of the past :—

"Who fears to speak of Ninety-Eight?
Who blushes at the name?
When cowards mock the patriot's fate,
Who hangs his head for shame?
He 's all a knave or half a slave
Who slights his country thus ;
But a true man like you, man,
Will fill his glass with us."

Though altogether wanting in judgment, balance, and sound sense in practical things, they set Ireland all aglow, and, at first joining hands with O'Connell, kindled a widespread agitation ; O'Connell, as ever, doing his best to urge his hot-headed followers to act within the pale of the law.

The rejection by Parliament of Smith O'Brien's motion for inquiring into Irish grievances was followed by a series of "Monster Meetings." In August 1843 the vast throng gathered together at Tara, the old home of Irish kings, that a year would see Parliament back again on College Green. But in October the Government stopped the projected meeting at Clontarf (a suburb of Dublin), and arrested O'Connell. In February 1844 O'Connell was condemned for conspiracy, but the House of Lords reversed the verdict. Yet O'Connell's influence never recovered from the blow this trial inflicted on his prestige. He was

*Repeal and
Young Ireland,
1842.*

*Trial of
O'Connell, 1844.*

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now old and broken, and died in May 1847 at Genoa, on his way to Rome on a pilgrimage.

Peel saw that the constant disturbances in Ireland showed that something was radically wrong, and knowing that the land question was at the bottom of Irish grievances, he appointed a strong commission of inquiry, at the head of which was Lord Devon. Meanwhile he sought to lessen the religious grievances of the Catholics by increasing the scanty state endowment of *Maynooth College*, where the Roman priests were brought up in poverty and squalor, and by establishing three *Queen's Colleges* at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, where the Catholic and Protestant youth of Ireland might receive side by side a sound secular education. All the fierce ignorance of Protestantism rose in arms against what was called the endowment of Popery. "The Orangeman," said Macaulay, "raised his war-whoop. Exeter Hall set up its bray." "Two-thirds of Peel's party are against him," lamented Prince Albert; "of bigotry and spite there is no end." Catholics and Protestants joined in denouncing the "godless" Queen's Colleges, and experience showed that it would have been as well to do nothing as to stop short of establishing a regular Catholic college. With all his wish to do right, Peel was too stiff, too English, and too Protestant to understand the real needs of Ireland. Yet the report of the Devon Commission, which first authoritatively laid bare the misery of the Irish peasant and the scandals of the Irish land system, marks a new beginning in the history of Ireland, and the first real effort of England to go to the bottom of Irish discontent. But Protestant prejudice and party blindness still stood in Peel's way. Before anything was done a grievous famine brought things to a crisis.

8. England was still unrestful. In 1843 the Scottish Church burst violently asunder, and in 1845 came the crisis of the new High-Church movement in the secession of John Henry Newman to Rome (see pages 967-8). In 1843 gangs of Welsh peasants dressed like women stirred up the *Rebecca Riots* against the harsh and unequal turnpike tolls. The Chartists were again active. The poor were suffering from the dearth of bread. So early as 1831 the vigorous, rough, graphic "Corn-Law Rhymes" of Ebenezer Elliott, set down every evil to the bread tax with its "maw like the grave," and held up to scorn the bad government:—

The Devon Commission, 1844.

The Maynooth grant and the Queen's Colleges, 1845.

"It is the deadly *Will* that takes
What labour ought to keep ;
It is the deadly *Power* that makes
Bread dear and labour cheap."

Yet all political parties upheld some sort of corn laws, and even the Chartists repudiated sympathy with repeal. At last the *Anti-Corn Law League* was started in 1839 at Manchester, where the millowners found that they were the losers by the high prices of food, and strove vigorously for the total and immediate repeal of the tax on corn. Its leaders were two Lancashire manufacturers, Richard Cobden, a Sussex yeoman's son and a man of great earnestness, activity, and simplicity, and the bold and eloquent Quaker orator, John Bright of Rochdale. Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) sought by new *Factory Acts* (see pages 977-8) and provisions for schools to make the state of the people better. Though Peel saw little of the higher and deeper needs of the time, his sound administration and careful attention to reform showed that, so far as he went, he worked on right lines. He was especially successful in restoring the national credit, weakened by Whig mismanagement, and in putting the national finances into a thoroughly sound condition. This, he believed, was the best way to get work and wages. Trade grew much more active after he entered office.

In 1842 Peel and Goulburn brought in a new *sliding-scale* for the corn tax, giving advantages to colonial over foreign wheat, and stopping the duty altogether when corn rose about 74s. a quarter. They also made a new *Tariff*, which cut down the duty on more than 700 other articles, a vast stride towards free-trade. To make up the deficiency in revenue, Peel established an *Income Tax*, from which incomes under £150 a year were altogether free. In 1844 he renewed the *Bank Charter Act*, on terms that destroyed the power of the Bank of England to issue notes above £14,000,000 unless it had the gold in its cellars to pay them off at once, and restricted the issue of notes by private banks. He also brought down the three and a half per cent. funds to three per cent. Every year the budget went nearer free trade, to the principles of which Peel, whose sympathies were with the manufacturers from whom he sprung, was fast becoming converted. But his party was not with him. The "landed interests" thought their prosperity bound up with *Protection*, and wanted to keep

The Anti-Corn
Law movement,
1831-46.

Financial re-
forms, 1842-44.

up the taxes that made it hard for foreigners to compete with English industry.

9. The rank and file of Peel's followers had long been murmuring, but party discipline was strong, and they had no spokesman. In 1843 the standard of revolt was raised by the brilliant and fantastic *Young England Party*, headed by Lord John Manners, afterwards Duke of Rutland, and Benjamin Disraeli, son of Isaac Disraeli, a well-known and eccentric Jewish man of letters, which had sought for some years to revive old-fashioned and picturesque notions, and turned with disgust from the sordid materialistic present to a

Disraeli and
Young England,
1843-45.

"nobler age,
When men of stalwart heart and steadfast faith
Shrunk from dishonour rather than from death ;
When to great minds obedience did not seem
A slave's condition or a bigot's dream ;
When Mother Church her richest stores displayed,
And Sister State on her behalf arrayed
The tempered majesty of Sacred Law ;
When kings were taught to feel the dreadful weight
Of power derived from One than kings more great."

"Disraeli the Younger," as he called himself, was already much talked about for his strange romantic political novels, teaching a new historic Toryism learnt in the school of Bolingbroke and Wyndham, which was popular, radical in a sense, and above all intensely national, and sought to revive the strength of Church and Crown as the advocates of an oppressed and starving people. He disliked the commonplace middle-class Conservatism of Peel almost as much as the narrowness of the old Whig clique and the levelling, utilitarian, let-things-alone Radicalism of Grote and Hume. His first speech was a failure, and he cut a strange figure dressed in a "bottle-green frock-coat, and waistcoat covered with a network of glittering chains, large fancy-pattern pantaloons, and black tie with no shirt-collar." He looked "tall and thin, with a countenance lividly pale, intensely black eyes, broad forehead, overhung by long and flowing ringlets of coal-black hair." His manner was excitable and his rhetoric florid. No wonder Peel suspected and mortally offended his fantastic follower. As a result, "in 1845 his solitary voice from the Tory benches prophesied that Protection was in the same condition as Protestantism in 1828," denounced a "Conservative government as an organised hypocrisy," and held up Peel to scorn

for "catching the Whigs bathing and running away with their clothes," and "being like the Turkish admiral who steered his ship right into the enemies' port." The cheers of the Tory squires showed that he expressed what they had long been thinking. Yet Peel seemed as strong as ever.

10. The *Anti-Corn Law League* still carried on its crusade, held meetings, circulated pamphlets, and raised vast sums of money. But its greatest work was the conversion of the Prime Minister himself, who now saw clearly that the swarming population of England could only be fed cheaply if foreign corn were let in duty free. The famine in Ireland caused by the failure of the potato crop brought things to a head. On 1st November Peel summoned his Cabinet, told them that anyhow the corn tax must be relaxed to feed the starving Irish, and that once given up no minister could venture to bring it in again. The ministers were divided, and took time to think about it. Thereupon Lord John Russell wrote his famous *Edinburgh Letter*, in which he threw over the old Whig doctrine of a moderate fixed duty, and went in for total repeal of the Corn Laws. Meanwhile Lord Stanley still held out against Peel, who resigned on 5th December. But Lord John could not form a ministry, as Lord Grey (son of the Reform Premier) refused to serve if Palmerston went back to the Foreign Office. In a fortnight Peel was again in power, Stanley alone refusing to follow him, and being replaced as Colonial Secretary by Gladstone. In January 1846 Peel laid before Parliament his plan for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Peel proposed to admit corn in February 1849 at a nominal duty, and until then to keep up a reduced sliding-scale, falling to 4s. when wheat was 54s. a quarter. He sought to win over the country party by removing some burdens from land and relieving local by imperial taxation to the extent of £250,000 a year.

The mass of the Conservatives was aghast, and broke into open revolt. Lord George Bentinck (a shrewd, hard-headed racing-man, whose sole ambition had hitherto been to win the Derby, but who hated Peel because he believed that he had hounded his uncle Canning to his grave) joined with Disraeli in organising the Protectionist forces. After stormy debates, in which Disraeli denounced Peel with ruthless cruelty, the Whigs and Radicals combined with the ministers and their personal following, and carried Peel's Bill, though the "men of metal and large-acred

squires" voted almost solidly against him. Peel nobly assigned the merit of the change to the "unaffected and unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden."

11. "The field is lost," said the real leader of the Protectionists, "but at any rate there should be retribution upon those who had betrayed it." A chance for vengeance was soon found. Peel brought forward a *Coercion Bill* to put down disorder in Ireland, and on 25th June the Protectionists joined with the Whigs and Radicals in voting against its second reading, though both alike had supported the measure when first introduced. The result was inevitable. "They say we are beaten by 73," whispered a Cabinet minister to Peel. "Peel looked very grave, and extended his chin, as his habit was when he was annoyed and cared not to speak. He began to comprehend his position, and that 'the emperor was without his army.'"

*The Coercion
Bill and fall
of Peel, 1846.*

A few days later the great ministry came to an end. "We felt so safe with them," wrote the Queen; "never during five years did they recommend to me what was not for the country's best, and never for the party's advantage only." But in a state governed by party the indignation of the Protectionists was intelligible, if not excusable. Yet the people had got cheap bread.

CHAPTER IV.

Victoria—Russell and Palmerston, 1846-1865.

1. The Conservative host, which Peel had so carefully drilled and successfully led to victory, had now broken hopelessly with its leaders, and for the next twenty years there were three parties in English politics. The *Peelites* were the small, able, and experienced, but not very popular, party that gathered round the fallen leader. The *Protectionists* still held together under Bentinck, Stanley, and Disraeli. The *Liberals* (a name borrowed from continental politics, more used henceforth than the rather discredited word *Whig*) now formed the largest single band in the Commons; but they were wanting in unity, owing to the rivalry of Russell and Palmerston, and the loose party allegiance of the Irish and Radical members. The latter included the shrewd and able, but impracticable

*State of
Parties, 1846.*

and doctrinaire, *Philosophical Radicals*, under George Grote, banker and historian, and Sir William Molesworth, and the *Manchester Radicals* under Bright and Cobden, who with much zeal for reform, honest indifference to political clique, and special knowledge in trading questions, were ignorant and careless of foreign policy, and tied down by narrow notions of the business of the state and by middle-class prejudices that made them oppose many measures for the welfare of the people.

The Liberals now formed a ministry, which, however, was not a strong one, nor were its acts brilliant. Yet it kept in office till 1852, and then only broke up through internal quarrels.

Lord John Russell became Prime Minister. He was "small in stature, slenderly made, and weakly in appearance," a poor speaker, **The Russell Ministry, 1846-52.** but a dexterous tactician, shrewd politician, and a consistent Whig, with fixed though fairly liberal views, but "miserably wanting in amenity and the small arts of gaining popularity, and with a reputation both for obstinacy and lack of firmness," and with no very great claim to the higher merits of statesmanship. Charles Wood was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir George Grey Home Secretary, Lord Cottenham Chancellor, and Macaulay Paymaster. Palmerston was again Foreign Secretary, and Lord Grey, accepting the inevitable, became Secretary for the Colonies.

2. The first business of the new ministry was Ireland, where the evils of the old cottier system still lived on, and the wretchedness of the people became more extreme with the rapid growth of the population, now mounting up to nearly nine millions.

The Potato Famine of 1846-47. Except in the manufacturing districts of the north-east, and the rich grazing lands of the midlands, the land was filled with hungry peasants, paying a monstrous rent for a miserable patch of potato-ground, always in arrears, and as hopeless as in the old days of the Penal Code. The main food of the cottiers was the potato, because it was the cheapest way of keeping body and soul together. But in 1845 the potato crop was a partial failure, and great misery followed. Again in July 1846 a sudden blight destroyed the potato crop. "I beheld with sorrow," wrote Father Mathew, the earnest advocate of temperance, "one wild waste of putrifying vegetation, and the wretched people seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, and bewailing the destruction that left them foodless." For the rich corn harvest was sent out of the country, while hundreds of thousands were dying like flies, of famine, and of the deadly fever which few of the

starving souls could bear up against. The poets of Young Ireland lamented their pitiable plight :—

“ Weary men, what reap ye? Golden corn for the stranger.
 What sow ye? Human corpses that wait for the avenger.
 Fainting forms, hunger-stricken, what see ye in the offing?
 Stately ships to bear our food away and the strangers scoffing.
 There’s a proud array of soldiers. What do they round your door?
 They guard our master’s granaries from the hunger of the poor.”

England was deeply moved by the tale of Irish suffering, and the Government bestirred itself to help the famine-stricken land. But the ministers were ignorant and timid, and afraid of the cry of the Radicals and Economists that State interference with trade and the food-supply went against the teachings of Adam Smith and Ricardo. So they started *relief-works*, such as road-making, and paid the workers; but they took care that the roads should lead nowhere, and they left the food-supply to the ordinary traders, who made disgraceful fortunes by speculating in Indian meal and flour. The worn-out victims of famine were forced to waste their scanty strength on useless work, and to drag their weary frames for miles to the nearest shop of the food speculator. The land lay untilled, because better wages could be got from the Government works. All sorts of jobbery went on among the Government officials, contractors, and tradesfolk.

The misery still remained, and famine and fever still raged. In 1847 Government dropped its fears of the Economists, and opened soup-kitchens and gave away Indian-corn meal. Ships of any country were allowed to take in corn duty free. Large sums were advanced to the bankrupt boards of guardians, who had been quite powerless to meet the rush of the whole people to the work-houses. Lavish private charity did something more.

All sorts of schemes were now brought forward for permanently improving the state of Ireland. But Government rejected Lord George Bentinck’s wise scheme for building railways with State money, and did nothing but alter the poor-law in a way that made it the direct interest of the landlords to get rid of the poor from their estates. Many landlords, seeing the cottier system did not pay, set to work to turn out the poor tenants, and turn their little holdings into large farms. “I have seen,” wrote a poor-law officer, “ruthless acts committed by drivers and sub-agents, wretched hovels pulled down when the inmates were helpless from fever and nakedness.” The ignorant and helpless poor “linger

Results of the
Famine.

The Clearances.

about for weeks or months, burrowing behind the ditches under a few broken rafters of their former dwelling." England was horrified at such misdeeds, but misplaced regard for the rights of property prevented anything being done to stop the evictions.

The landlords were in many cases almost as badly off as their tenants, and their estates were often so encumbered and mortgaged, that they excused their harshness under the plea of poverty. To prevent this, Government passed in 1849 the *Encumbered Estates Act*, which allowed the broken-down landlord to sell his property, and gave the buyer a parliamentary title. This measure did but partial good, for the new landlords, though richer and more energetic, were quite out of touch with the people. But it sealed the doom of the cottier system, except in the barren highlands of the west, where it still lingers on. Yet the bringing in of English ways and English capital made the Irish more bitter than ever, though the mass of the people slowly but steadily got better off. A vast emigration completed the depopulation which famine and fever had begun. Fever followed the miserable wanderers to the filthy and closely packed emigrant ships. The survivors could not fail to hand down to their children the fiercest hatred of the English name.

3. In 1848 a general revolutionary movement upset half the thrones of Europe. Louis Philippe was driven from France, and a republic set up. In Italy the Liberal movement for national unity was revived, headed by a new and reforming Pope, Pius IX., and by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. Metternich, the prop of the Holy Alliance, was turned out of office at Vienna, but Hungary rose in revolt under the eloquent and energetic Kossuth. In Germany the Liberals sought unity by getting rid of the princelings, bringing together a Parliament at Frankfort, and wresting sea-girt Schleswig-Holstein from its Danish masters. In Switzerland the Catholic cantons formed the *Sonderbund*, and went to war against the radical Diet of the Confederation. Popular revolts broke out everywhere.

Palmerston believed that "Governments were wise to pursue improvements and remodel their institutions, and that no other state had a right to restrain them in such an inherent attribute of independent sovereignty." So he strongly favoured the general constitutional and national

The Encumbered Estates Act, 1849.

The year of Revolutions, 1848.

movement, and got himself hated by men of the old school as a firebrand and a revolutionary. But his policy of mediation was not very successful. Spain and England broke off diplomatic relations because Palmerston backed up the *Progressistas* against Narvaez, the *Moderado* minister. He failed to prevent war between Sardinia and Austria, and the defeat of the former at *Novara* postponed the unity of Italy (1849). But as time went on the Liberal movement became a revolutionary one. A mob rising bathed Paris in blood, and street-fighting went on in half the great cities of Europe. The Pope was turned out of Rome, and a republic set up under the high-souled Mazzini and the fearless, warm-hearted Garibaldi. The worst of the old rulers gave up their thrones to younger and less hated kinsmen. In great alarm Frederick William IV. of Prussia backed out of the national movement in Germany. Russia helped Francis Joseph, the new Austrian Emperor (his uncle Ferdinand I. had resigned), to restore his despotic rule in Hungary. Reaction followed revolution, and the national and Liberal cause seemed undone. At last Austria renewed its hold on Italy, and Germany returned to the obedience of its many rulers. Finally a needy and cunning adventurer, Louis Napoleon, the son of Hortense Beauharnais, and Louis, sometime King of Holland, Napoleon I.'s brother, had got himself elected President of the French Republic, upset the Constitution he had sworn to observe, murdered or imprisoned his chief opponents by the *coup d'état* of 2d December 1851, and brought in a military despotism, under a ring of vulgar fortune-hunters of the lowest type, headed by his half-brother Morny, which was a corrupt copy of the worst side of the great Emperor's reign. Palmerston was so disgusted with revolutions ending in anarchy that, in his jaunty way, he privately expressed the fullest approval of what had been done. But it is hard to draw a line between a minister's private and official acts, and he practically pledged the Queen, the Cabinet, and the nation to approving perjury, robbery, and violence. Russell was delighted at his rival's mistake, for Palmerston had long disgusted Queen and colleagues by acting entirely on his own authority. The Prince disliked his anti-German policy in backing up Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein affair (1850). His high-handed, blustering blockade of the Peiræus in 1850, because the king of the Hellenes had seized on the garden of the historian Finlay, and the Athens mob had sacked the

Palmerston's
Policy and Fall,
Dec. 1851.

house of Don Pacifico, a Gibraltar Jew, had caused general disgust. In August 1850 the Queen had drawn up a memorandum insisting that he should always state what he proposed to do, and not alter measures after she had given them her sanction. The fresh offence was unpardonable. Palmerston was superseded by Lord Granville, and went out complaining loudly that "John Russell had given way to the Queen and the Prince."

4. The revolutionary wave had spread to the United Kingdom, and the Chartist and Young Ireland parties excited alarm among peaceful folk. In 1847 *Chartism and Young Ireland, 1848.* there had been a severe *Commercial Crisis*, brought about by over-speculation, especially in

railway shares. In 1848 the Chartists summoned a great meeting for 10th April on *Kennington Common*, and the Government feared a riot. But very few people appeared, and Feargus O'Connor lost heart and did nothing. Five days later an enormous petition was sent in to Parliament, but on examination the signatures proved largely fictitious. The double failure overwhelmed the Chartists with ridicule. They soon dropped altogether out of notice, for improved trade and higher wages took the worst sting from the discontent that animated them. Equally laughable was the collapse of the Young Ireland patriots. They were already splitting up into sections, and had quarrelled with O'Connell. John Mitchel, in his paper *United Ireland*, was all for extreme measures, and was prosecuted and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. But Meagher "of the sword" and Smith O'Brien, who were tried along with him, being acquitted, made a feeble attempt at a rising. However, in July 1848 they were taken prisoners in a cabbage garden, tried, and condemned to death as traitors, though their sentences were afterwards remitted. Thus England weathered the storm that had overthrown so many foreign states.

5. In 1851 the first *Great Exhibition* of all nations was held in a vast iron and glass structure in Hyde Park, largely through the efforts of the Prince Consort, and every one talked of the reign of peace and commerce that was at hand, though really a long series of wars was just beginning. But England went half-mad because the Pope in 1850 appointed bishops with titles from names of English towns to look after the English Roman Catholics, and Russell passed in 1851 an abortive *Ecclesiastical Titles Bill* to prevent it, which when the panic died away everybody agreed to ignore. The

*Fall of the
Russell
Ministry, 1852.*

establishment of another Buonaparte in France led to a fear of invasion. So in February 1852 Russell brought in a bill to strengthen the militia. But Palmerston, now out of office, seeing in its details a chance of revenging himself on his old colleagues, carried an amendment against them, and forced them to resign. "I have had my tit-for-tat with John Russell," he boasted to his brother; "I turned him out on Friday last."

6. Palmerston was not strong enough to form a ministry himself. The Peelites, though very able men, had too small a following, and Peel himself had died in 1850, from a fall from his horse. The Protectionists (now generally called the Conservatives, as the Peelites grew more and more Liberal) were left. They were led by Stanley (now Earl of Derby) and Disraeli, for Bentinck had died suddenly in 1848. They were now called into place, though new to official life, and, except the two leaders, not thought to possess much ability. Derby was now Prime Minister, and, to every one's astonishment, Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons.

The first
Derby-Disraeli
Ministry, Feb.-
Dec. 1852.

The new ministers were in a minority, and held office by the favour of Palmerston. So they went to the country, but the new election hardly altered the balance of parties. Still they might hope to hold on through their opponents' weakness. At first it was feared that they would bring back the Corn Laws, and the *Anti-Corn Law League* was revived at Manchester. Charles Villiers moved in the new Parliament a resolution in favour of free-trade, almost insulting to the Government. But Disraeli was rapidly showing that he had to be taken seriously, and was too wise to go back on what had been done. After Palmerston had carried the omission of some offensive words, Villiers' resolution was accepted by Government. But Whigs and Peelites joined together in bitterly attacking Disraeli's fanciful yet clever budget. "I am attacked by a Coalition," cried Disraeli; "but England does not love Coalitions, and your triumph will be short." A stern and earnest speech of Gladstone's turned the wavering majority against the Government, and on 16th December the ministry resigned. A month before, the body of Wellington had been borne in solemn pomp to its grave beside Nelson in St. Paul's. A fortnight before, the Prince President of the betrayed French Republic had got himself proclaimed Emperor, under the title of Napoleon III.

7. It was time to put an end to governments on sufferance, so the Queen sent for Lord Aberdeen and Lord Lansdowne, and it was agreed that a strong *Coalition Ministry* should be formed of Peelites and Whigs. "This is the realisation of the country's and our own most ardent wishes," wrote Prince Albert, "and it deserves success."

The Coalition
Ministry of
Peelites and
Whigs, 1852-55.

The Peelites mustered strong. Aberdeen became First Lord of the Treasury. He was an accomplished, able, and high-minded man, a great traveller and writer, candid, courageous, and experienced, but lacking in spirit, firmness, resource, elasticity, and knowledge of character. Under him were Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary; Sidney Herbert, Secretary-at-War; Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Cardwell, President of the Board of Trade. Of the official Whigs, John Russell was Foreign Secretary and leader of the Commons, and the venerable Lord Lansdowne sat in the Cabinet without office. In 1853 Russell gave up the Foreign Secretaryship to Lord Clarendon. The Radicals were pleased by Sir William Molesworth being First Commissioner of Works. Palmerston came back as Home Secretary, an office he cared little for, yet took because he thought England wanted a strong Government.

8. Peel's followers now strove to follow in their master's footsteps as financiers and reformers. Gladstone proved himself a worthy disciple of Sir Robert by his brilliant *budgets* and masterly budget speeches. The budget of 1853 was, says Greville, "a great scheme, boldly, skilfully, and honestly devised, and has raised Gladstone to a great political elevation." Further strides were now made towards free-trade, though Gladstone's schemes for converting the debt were failures, and the country party cried out against his increase of the malt tax. Suddenly war broke out and cut short his projected reforms, and all he now could do was to try to meet the extraordinary expenses without borrowing. In 1854 a *University Reform Act* was passed, which reorganised the constitution of Oxford and Cambridge, widened the studies, strengthened the teaching body, threw open the endowments, dethroned the Heads of Colleges from their absolute position, and to some extent let in Dissenters. A new *Reform Bill* was brought forward. But the outlook abroad turned men's minds from reforms at home.

9. Clouds had again gathered in the East. A fierce dispute broke out between the Greek and Latin clergy as to the guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine. Russia backed up the Orthodox, while France protected the Catho-

Finance and
Reforms,
1853-54.

lics. At last the Turks, from hatred of Russia, leant to the Latin side, and the Catholics were allowed the custody of the key of the Holy Sepulchre, and the right of putting the silver star in the Chapel of the Nativity at Bethlehem. But Russia was disgusted, and her ill-will to France and Turkey revived the whole Eastern question.

The Eastern
Question
revived,
1851-54.

For many years the Czar Nicholas had sought to persuade the Powers to accept some sort of partition of the Turkish empire. "We have on our hands," said he, "a sick man—a very sick man. It will be a great misfortune if he slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements have been made." But England and Austria had at different times rejected his advances, fearing lest Russia should grow too powerful. Nicholas now saw in the dispute about the Holy Places a chance to further his plans, and sent Prince Menshikov, a strong old-Russian of rough and overbearing manners, on a special embassy to Turkey. But the English ambassador, Stratford Canning, the cousin of George Canning, and since 1852 Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, was a man of vigorous will and great subtlety of mind. He outwitted Menshikov altogether, and in May 1853 the Russian left Constantinople, disgusted at the failure of his mission. Russia now occupied *Moldavia and Wallachia*, the so-called *Danubian Principalities*, then vassals of Turkey, now the free kingdom of Roumania. A conference at Vienna in July resulted in the *Vienna Note* being drawn up by Austria, Prussia, England, and France, which suggested plans to settle the dispute. But Louis Napoleon saw in the quarrel a chance of establishing his throne and winning easy glory, and Palmerston, ever restless and mistrustful of Russia, urged on Aberdeen and the Peelites, who were eager for peace but ignorant how to get it. A closer alliance was formed between England and France, who now took up a more energetic line than Austria and Prussia. The English and French fleets steamed eastwards, and, on Russia finally rejecting the Vienna Note, entered the Dardanelles (October 22). Thereupon Russia fell upon a Turkish squadron of frigates at Sinope and destroyed it utterly. In January 1854 the allied fleets passed into the Black Sea.

10. The half-hearted and divided ministry thus drifted into war, despite the "excessive and self-defeating love of peace" of Aberdeen and Gladstone. Bright and Cobden stoutly denounced the war, but English opinion was

strongly for fighting, and the Manchester leaders were not listened to, as they were believed to hate all wars, regardless of the particular circumstances, because they stopped millowners getting rich. Russia refused to recross the Pruth, and England and France assembled a great army at Varna. The English were led by Lord Raglan, who, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had been Wellington's aide-de-camp and secretary, and had married his niece. But though upright, honourable, judicious, and careful, he was "schooled by long years of flat office labour" into routine. The French were under Marshal Saint-Arnaud, a bold, gay, vain, and unscrupulous adventurer.

The stubborn defence of the Turkish strongholds on the Danube checked the advance of the Russians, who, fearful of Austria falling on them in flank, decided to recross the Pruth. The Russian Black Sea fleet fled into Sebastopol without a fight, and the dashing, vain-glorious Sir Charles Napier chased the enemy's Baltic fleet into Cronstadt, where, as at Sebastopol, it was protected by heavy shore batteries from the unarmoured ships and weak naval artillery of that period.

11. The demands of the Vienna Note were now secured, but the war fever, fanned by those early successes, had now risen high in England, and the Cabinet, urged on by the sanguine and eager Newcastle, thoughtlessly ordered the invasion of the *Crimea*, the large peninsula jutting out into the northern waters of the Black Sea, "a wilderness of steppe or of mountain range, clothed with tall, stiff grass and a fragrant herb like southernwood," inhabited by peaceful Tartars, but militarily important from the new fortress and naval station of Sebastopol, a little to the west of its southern point, from which Russia sought to rule the whole of the Black Sea lands.

The armies at Varna, already terribly weakened by cholera, were by a mighty effort carried over the Black Sea, and landed near Eupatoria, on the west coast of the Crimea, far to the north of Sebastopol. Their equipment and supplies were for an expedition rather than a campaign. As they drew near the little river *Alma* on their march to Sebastopol, they found the uplands beyond the stream held by a Russian force, inferior in numbers but strong in position. On 20th

September the allies assailed the heights. The brunt of the fighting fell on the English, who were on the left, and had opposed to them the mass of the Russian troops; for Menshikov, the Russian general, had trusted that the cliffs would stop the French advance nearer the sea, and had set most of his forces against the English. For a long time the valour and steadiness of the Russian infantry withstood the badly-directed English assault; but at last good luck and hard fighting turned the fortunes of the day, and the Russians drew back,

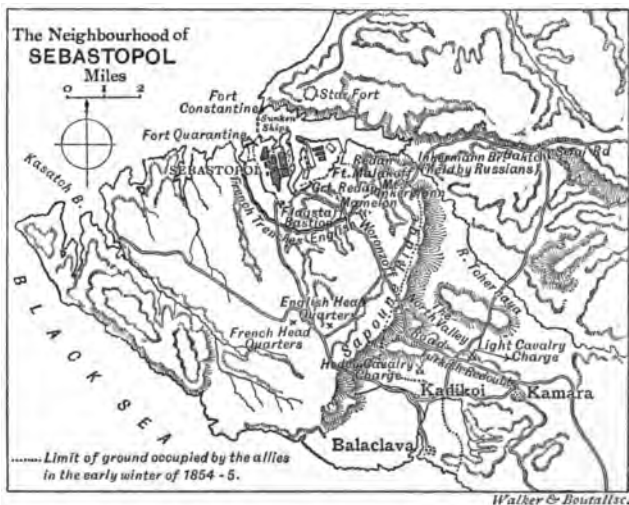
The Crimean War, 1854-56.

Invasion of the Crimea, 1854.

Battle of the Alma, 20th Sept.

leaving few trophies of victory. The sluggishness of the French prevented any pursuit; but the battle opened the road to Sebastopol.

The bold but wise plan of a sudden attack on the unprotected north side of Sebastopol was given up, and by the long *flank march* the allies struck on the southern coast of the Crimea, the English making for the narrow harbour of *Balaclava*, while the French, commanded by the irresolute Canrobert after Saint-Arnaud's death, occupied as their basis the more roomy *Kasach Bay*. But the plan of a sudden attack was again unwisely given up; and the allies, all unprepared as they were for a long stay in enemies' territory, prepared for a regular siege.



Menshikov left to itself the doomed fortress, and took up a position outside very threatening to the English, while the sailors of the destroyed Russian fleet, headed by the enthusiastic Kornilov, did their best to defend a town only half fortified, but growing every day stronger through the marvellous military genius and energy of the engineer Colonel Todleben.

It was not till 17th October that the allies' batteries were in position and the bombardment begun. But they did little execution. Menshikov now sent a great force to attack *Balaclava*, to the north of which was fought on 25th October a curious battle, "consisting of five several combats not effectively brought into one by any pervading design." The Russians drove the Turks from three redoubts, situated on or near the narrow ridge, along which ran the Vorontsov road, which were the outer defences of the English camp, and pushed on to the narrow pass of

Sebastopol
besieged.

Balaclava,
25th Oct.

Kadikoi. The heavy cavalry, under General Scarlett, hurried through the South Valley to defend the pass, but on their way they saw the whole Russian horse, ten times their strength, descending the causeway ridge into the valley. Scarlett at once turned about and charged. "The dark grey Russian column swept down in multitudinous superiority of numbers on the red-clad squadrons. There was a clash and fusion, as of wave meeting wave, all those engaged being resolved into a crowd of individual horsemen, whose swords rose and fell and glanced. Then almost in a moment the whole Russian mass gave way and fled beyond the hill, vanishing behind the slope five minutes after they had first swept over it." Seeing what cavalry could do, Raglan ordered the light cavalry to charge the lost redoubts; but the rash, self-willed Lord Lucan misunderstood his orders, and sent the six hundred troopers of the Light Brigade right through the North Valley, both sides of which were held by the enemy, towards the Russian army, drawn up under the shelter of the batteries at its east end. After a wonderful display of valour, they were forced back, cruelly cut up. Such deeds filled the English with confidence and the Russians with fear; but it is not thus that campaigns are won. Yet it was almost the same story over again when, in the darkness and mist of the early morning of 5th November, the Russians in Sebastopol made a general attack on the besieging lines, but especially against the hill of *Inkerman* and its garrison of Guards, on the English right. It was a soldiers' battle, fruitful in heroic deeds and stupid blunders. "The scanty and unsupported line of skirmishers," wrote an eye-witness, "drove the dense mass of Russians back over the hill; not once, but many times. When our men's ammunition failed they fought with the bayonet and butt-end, and even with stones. Every man fought for his own hand. Generalship there could be none whatever. British steadiness and bull-dog courage did it. The result was to be seen in the fearful mass of the Russian dead." But even after their victory the allies shrunk from an assault, preferring the long winter siege.

**Inkerman
5th Nov.**

On 14th November a terrific storm wrecked the transports, bearing ammunition and warm clothing, and the wicked, but unpunished, incompetence of the home authorities left the troops unprepared to face the bitterest of winters. It was found impossible to shut off Sebastopol from communication with the army outside, which pressed so hardly on the besiegers that they were almost as much on the defensive as attacking. The land transport broke down altogether, though it was but ten miles from Balaklava to the front. Sickness worked more havoc than the Russian bullets, and in January 1855 there were hardly 11,000 English soldiers fit for fighting. "Fancy being thirty-six or forty-eight hours in the trenches at a stretch," wrote Miss Florence Nightingale, the noble soldiers' nurse at Scutari, "lying down, or half-lying down, with no food but raw salt pork sprinkled with sugar, rum, and biscuit, because the exhausted soldier could not collect fuel to cook his food; and fancy the army preserving courage and patience, and being still eager to be led to the trenches."

**The Winter
Siege, 1854-55.**

In the spring of 1855 a conference at Vienna failed to make peace, and the Emperor Nicholas and Lord Raglan died. In May Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia, anxious to improve his position in Europe, joined the Alliance against Russia, and sent a fine detach-

ment of troops to the Crimea. In August French and Sardinians beat the Russians at the *Battle of the Chernaya*, and foiled their plan for raising the siege. Meanwhile the lines drew nearer the doomed city. In September the French, under Macmahon (afterwards beaten at Sedan, and President of the Third Republic), carried the *Malakof* redoubt, the key of the defences, in a gallant rush, though the English were driven back with great loss in their assault on the *Redan*. The Russians silently evacuated the town without the allies' knowledge, and Sebastopol, no longer tenable, surrendered on 8th September. This brought the war to an end, for the heroic resistance of *Kars*, under Williams, put a check to the Russian advance in Asia Minor.

Fall of
Sebastopol,
Sept. 1855.

12. Every party had lost so much and gained so little that peace negotiations were renewed in September, and, despite some risk from the double-faced policy of Austria, and the tortuous self-seeking of our French ally, led to the *Peace of Paris* in March 1856.

Its conditions were—(1) The Black Sea was neutralised; all trading ships were admitted, but no ships of war, even of the powers holding its coasts. (2) Sebastopol was not to be kept up. (3) Turkey was admitted to the public law of Europe. (4) The Sultan confirmed his oft-broken promises of more freedom to his Christian subjects. (5) The Danube navigation was opened. (6) All conquests were restored. (7) England gave up her old Admiralty claims, and allowed a neutral flag to cover enemies' goods, save contraband of war. (8) In return, blockades were to be recognised only when effective; and (9) Privateering was abolished by all the European powers.

Peace of Paris,
1856.

An unsatisfactory peace ended an unfortunate war. England was right in withstanding the advance of Russia, but she undertook a hopeless task in trying to patch up Turkey, and played unconsciously the game of the French Emperor rather than her own. The great lesson of the war was the worthlessness of our military system; the only consolation the patient valour of our troops.

13. The mismanagement of the war had already brought about the fall of the Coalition. Newspaper correspondents laid bare to the English public the sufferings of the army, and the ministers were made the scapegoats of its righteous indignation. The whimsical self-willed Roebuck moved, on 29th January 1855, that a committee should be chosen to inquire into the state of the army and the war departments. Lord John Russell threw up his office, declaring the motion could not be met. After this the Government was beaten by the overwhelming majority of 157.

Fall of the
Coalition,
Jan. 1855.

Roebuck's
Motion.

14. For some days the country remained without a Government. Derby and Russell sought in turn to build up a ministry, and failed. At last the Queen sent for Palmerston, for whom people had long been clamouring as the one man strong and determined enough to head a war ministry. Palmerston easily got together a Government. It was almost the same as the old one, only Aberdeen and Newcastle retiring before the storm of popular indignation. But Palmerston's spirit was very different to Aberdeen's, and the new War Secretary, rough, hard-working Lord Panmure, ably seconded his efforts. "I am backed," boasted Palmerston, "by the general opinion of the whole country, and I have no reason to complain of the least want of cordiality or confidence at Court." Yet his troubles were not over. On 22d February the Peelites, Graham, Gladstone, Herbert, and Cardwell, resigned because Palmerston insisted on appointing Roebuck's committee. But the Cabinet gained in vigour and unity by getting rid of its half-hearted members. Russell now came back to office, and Sir George Cornewall Lewis became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thus ended the crisis in which few but Palmerston behaved straightforwardly. Well might Prince Albert write, "Things have gone mad here, and the political world is quite crazy," and that "Parliamentary government was on its trial." But the new Whig ministry at last brought the war to a successful conclusion, though Russell, now reduced to play second part to Palmerston, again threw up his office in disgust at the strong and just criticisms passed on his disgraceful indiscretions as English representative at the Vienna conference.

Palmerston's position was now very strong. He grew more and more careless of political changes, though he was anxious to make people more comfortable, and Prince Albert, now more popular and better understood, did his best to spread culture and enlightenment.

15. In 1857 there were wars with Persia and China. The Chinese War sprang out of the demand of the English to the Chinese at Canton to give up the *Lorcha* (coasting schooner) *Arrow*, which they had seized. This brought up other questions, and England again waged war on China. But the Peelites, the Conservatives, and Russell, all joined in voting for Cobden's motion that there was no satisfactory ground for the violent actions of the Government. Palmerston

The Palmerston
War Ministry,
1855-56.

The Chinese
War and the
Elections of
1857.

was beaten, but he appealed to the country against what he called the "fortuitous concourse of atoms" that had driven him out, and a large majority of his followers were returned to the new Parliament, the Peelites and the Manchester Radicals in many cases losing their seats (April 1857). *Canton* was now bombarded, and in 1858 the *Treaty of Tientsin* opened more ports to English trade, and established an ambassador at Peking. Yet in 1859 war broke out again. England and France now joined together, and their warships were driven back with disaster from the forts at the mouth of the Peiho river. In 1860 England and France sent enough troops to thoroughly beat the Chinese, who were now forced to confirm the Treaty of Tientsin. In the years 1857 and 1858 England was horrified by the outbreak of the *Indian Mutiny* (see Book XI. Chapter I.). But it was put down, and British India, taken from the rule of the Company, annexed to the Crown.

16. Early in 1858 the Italian refugee Orsini sought to murder Napoleon III. by throwing explosive bombs into his carriage. The plot had been hatched and the bombs made in England, and the French clamorously pressed for an alteration of the law which made such things possible. Palmerston, to oblige his ally, brought in the *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*. But an outcry was raised that England should abandon her right of asylum and alter her law at the bidding of a foreign despot. The Conservatives, Peelites, and Radicals defeated the Government, and Palmerston resigned in disgust.

The Fall of
Palmerston,
Feb. 1858.

17. An attempt was made to unite the Peelites and the Conservatives, but they had now drifted very far asunder, and Derby had to make the very best ministry he could out of his parliamentary minority. Yet the skill and resource of Disraeli, again Chancellor of the Exchequer, kept it in office all through the session. But the *Reform Bill*, brought in in February 1859 as a Conservative bid for popular support, was badly received. Disraeli's "fancy franchises," which wisely sought to give votes to people of property and education, even if they were not householders, were laughed at as whimsical and over-refined. The ministers were beaten. An appeal to the country met with little response. The new Parliament, on the motion of Lord Hartington, declared it had no confidence in them, and in June Derby gave up office.

The Second
Derby-Disraeli
Ministry,
1858-59.

18. Palmerston's and Russell's constant strife "which was to smell first at the nosegay," made it awkward for the Queen to send for either, and the Prince, as ever, gravely distrusted Palmerston. But Lord Granville's attempt to make a ministry failing, the time came for Palmerston's final triumph. The *Second Palmerston Ministry* lasted until his death, and included both Whigs and Peelites, now almost welded together into a single Liberal party, of which the Peelites were in some ways the advanced half. But it was a "ministry of repose." Palmerston's easy ways kept the earnest reformers in check.

Palmerston's
Second
Ministry,
1859-65.

Palmerston was now First Lord of the Treasury, Granville President of the Council, Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lewis Home (afterwards War) Secretary, Newcastle Colonial Secretary, Russell Foreign Secretary, and Herbert War Secretary. The crafty, keen-tongued Bethell was first Attorney-General and afterwards Chancellor as Lord Westbury.

19. Foreign affairs were again very threatening. In 1859 the restless ambition of the French Emperor found scope in a war against Austria on behalf of Italian unity. He formed an alliance with Victor Emanuel, king of Sardinia since 1849, who, guided by his great minister Cavour, was as eager as his predecessors to put himself at the head of the Italian national party. But after Louis Napoleon had driven Austria out of Lombardy by his great victories at *Solferino* and *Magenta*, he made an armistice, which left Venetia to its German rulers, and betrayed the Italian patriots. But the Liberals in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna had already chased away the petty despots who ruled under Austrian control, and were now bound together with Sardinia and Lombardy in a compact Northern Italian Kingdom. Victor Emanuel had to pay dearly for French help by handing over the county of Nice, Garibaldi's birthplace, and Savoy, the cradle of his own house, to the selfish Emperor. A little later Naples and Sicily rose under the heroic Garibaldi against their Bourbon tyrants, and, through Cavour's clever diplomacy, were joined to Victor Emanuel's kingdom before any foreign interference could prevent it. Save Austrian Venice and the district round Rome still misgoverned by the papal officials, the house of Savoy now ruled over a united Italy (1861).

Palmerston watched with delight the triumph of the Italian cause. But he was at last angered at the subtle

intrigues of his old friend Louis Napoleon, who was more than suspected of a wish to invade England. In 1859 the Conservatives had started the *Volunteer movement*, which soon brought together nearly 200,000 zealous citizen soldiers, though at first the ignorant contempt of the war department left them poorly trained and little organised. Palmerston also strengthened the army and navy. Bit by bit the invasion panic wore away, as it again suited Napoleon to profess friendship, and a *Commercial Treaty* was successfully negotiated by Cobden (1860), who looked upon it as the triumph of his amiable but visionary notions of binding nations together by the brotherhood of trade.

In November 1863 the death of King Frederick VII. of Denmark re-opened the Schleswig-Holstein question. Christian IX. of the House of Glücksburg (whose daughter Alexandra had a little before married the Prince of Wales) became King of Denmark, but the German Liberals strove to set up Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke of German Schleswig-Holstein, from which the Danes were now seeking to take away Schleswig to bring it into the Danish kingdom. War broke out. Prussia was now ruled by the soldierly William I., brother of the weak Frederick William IV., and by his trusty minister Count Bismarck, who joined to aristocratic and conservative notions at home the strongest love of German unity and the shrewdest ideas how best it could be furthered. Bismarck got Austria and Prussia to make war on Denmark in order to carry out the old ideas of 1848, and bring the Duchies under German rulers. The Danes looked for help from England, but Lord John advised them to yield up all the really German parts. On their doing this they naturally expected to be helped in their defence of Danish Schleswig north of the Schley. But they leant on a rotten reed. In June 1864 an overwhelming Austrian and Prussian force conquered the Duchies, which were ceded to them by the *Treaty of Vienna*. The "meddling and muddling" of the English Government had brought on it great discredit, not lessened by the useless remonstrance which it addressed to Russia for its conduct in putting down the *Polish revolt* in 1863. Talk not backed up by acts only led to contempt.

20. The same weakness marked English dealings with America, rent asunder since 1861 by the great civil war, in which the Southern States sought to break from the Union

and form a new Confederation to uphold slavery. England professed strict neutrality, but the northern *Federals* thought ministers were over quick to recognise the *Confederates* as belligerents, and were indignant at the ignorant sympathy so generally shown in England for the South, which many believed with Gladstone had now been made an independent nation. Very bad feeling was produced when the United States officer Wilkes took the Confederate envoys Slidell and Mason by force out of the English mail steamer *Trent*; an act so manifestly against international law that the Americans were forced to apologise and give up their prisoners, though not before English troops had been massed in Canada. The Americans complained of the slackness of the English that allowed Confederate privateer cruisers, such as the *Alabama*, to be built in English dockyards to prey on their commerce. When in 1865 the persistent and determined efforts of the North had restored the imperilled Union, there was still much bad blood between the two peoples. Another result of the war was the *Cotton Famine* in Lancashire, a time of terrible distress for the factory hands, whose supply of raw cotton had been cut off by the blockade of the Southern ports. But this led to the growth of cotton in India and Egypt, while the destruction of the American merchant marine took away England's only serious rival for the world's carrying trade.

21. All through these years foreign affairs called away England's attention from domestic reforms. In 1860 Russell brought forward a *Reform Bill*, with provisions for minority representation; but it was so coldly received that he withdrew it in disgust. Westbury the Chancellor vigorously reformed the law of bankruptcy, and began the consolidation of the criminal law. He had set his heart on *codifying* the whole of English law, but before he could bring this about he was turned out of office for jobbing his friends into appointments. But the old Prime Minister carefully kept down his eager followers, who fretted at his sluggishness but dared not revolt against him. Gladstone, now the recognised leader of the ardent reformers, was looked upon by Palmerston with special distrust. "Gladstone will soon have it all his own way," said the old man to a kinsman; "whenever he gets my place we shall have strange doings." But Gladstone's series of brilliant *budgets*, which bit by bit removed

The American
Civil War,
1861-65.

Legal and
Financial Re-
form, 1860-65.

the chief remaining restrictions on trade, and made the scale of duties still left much simpler, brought very great credit to the Government, Cobden's *Commercial Treaty* helping forward the same ends. Yet in 1860 Gladstone's proposal to repeal the *Paper Tax* was thrown out by the Lords, the venerable Lyndhurst pleading with much ingenuity that they were within their rights in doing so. A violent quarrel of the two Houses was avoided by the good sense and tact of Palmerston. The times were very prosperous, and the revenue advanced "by leaps and bounds," though tax after tax was given up.

Palmerston, now eighty-one years of age, died on 18th October 1865. He had first taken office and a seat in the Commons in 1807, but he kept his freshness to the last. In his prime he was a tall, well-dressed, and exceedingly handsome man, who, with apparently idle habits, got through a great deal of work, shining in society and actively interested in the turf and in field sports, besides keenly enjoying his work as a politician. His best points were his strong will, lofty courage, energy, cheerfulness, and kindliness; but he was lacking in seriousness and high principle, excessively self-confident, and too much given to flippancy, bad jokes, and bluster. But he honestly believed England the greatest country in the world, and strove, sometimes perhaps not very discreetly, to uphold what he regarded as her honour and interests. He was by far the most interesting and popular personality in English politics in the dreary time between the fall of Peel and the rise of Gladstone and Disraeli into power and pre-eminence.

Death and
character of
Palmerston,
1865.

With Palmerston died the chief influence for delay within his party. In December 1861 the sudden death of the Prince Consort from fever took away the greatest moderating influence between party and party. He had lived down most of his early unpopularity, through the unselfish zeal with which he had advocated everything likely to improve the condition of the people, and the nation joined heartily with the Queen in lamenting her irreparable loss.

Death of Prince
Albert, 1861.

22. The death of Palmerston ends the period that began with the Reform Bill of 1832. It was a time of *middle-class ascendancy*, and the strong and weak points of the English middle class are brought out clearly in the history of the period. It begins with a great and far-reaching movement for reform which alarmed many. But the old governing

classes went on ruling much as they had done before, and Peel soon proved that the new masters were no revolutionaries.

The period of
Middle-Class
Ascendancy,
1832-68.

Within ten years of the Reform Bill a Conservative party, with new cries, harmonising with the new electors' feelings, formed the strongest and most solid Government of the period. But the interests of the country districts and the towns soon came into violent conflict, with the counter-cries of "Help the farmer and landlord to keep up English agriculture," and "Give cheap bread to the workman and factory hand." Middle-class Conservatism now split up between Protectionists and Peelites, and power came back to the Liberals, through little merit of their own. Henceforward the Liberals kept in power, for the gallant efforts of Disraeli to build up a new Conservatism did not appeal to the plodding minds and limited sympathies of the average tradesman and manufacturer. But the old desire to let things alone now overcame the aged leaders of the victorious Liberals. At last Palmerston was found to bring all parties together. The "Tory chief of a Radical Cabinet" (this was Disraeli's apt description of him) kept his followers in check, and won the support of his opponents, who saw in him the strongest Conservative force of the time. In despair, the fiercer Liberals, chafing under his yoke, planned far-reaching changes and thoroughgoing reforms. In equal despair of the ruling classes, the Conservative leader appealed from the middle to the working classes, whom he hoped to find more ready pupils for his new Toryism. Now begins the *transition to democracy*, which all parties helped on, though none with full knowledge of what they were doing. The twenty years that follow are occupied with the working out of this movement. It is a time full of changes and stirring events: new problems are more earnestly discussed, and strong efforts made to probe to the bottom the source of national evils. We have now to see what was the direction of this new development, but as we get nearer our own time we can only hope to understand the general bearing and outside history of events. Not till this generation has passed away can their inner meaning be clear.

CHAPTER V.

Victoria—Gladstone and Disraeli, 1865–1887.

1. Russell, who since 1861 had sat in the Lords as Earl Russell, succeeded Palmerston as Prime Minister. His place as leader of the Commons was taken by Gladstone, burning with reforming zeal and “unmuzzled,” as he boasted, since his recent rejection as member for Oxford University. A terrible *cattle-plague* now wrought havoc among the farmers; while on Black Monday, 11th May 1866, a *Commercial Panic* spread ruin amidst bankers, merchants, and their customers. New troubles broke out in Ireland. But politics mostly turned on the question of Parliamentary Reform. The Radicals had long been dissatisfied with the Reform Act of 1832. For many years the old Whigs had declared it a “final settlement,” and Russell won the nickname of “Finality John.” But the cry for “thorough” Reform grew so loud that Russell himself brought in other Bills in 1852 and 1854, though they excited little interest, and did not pass. Again, in 1859, Disraeli took up the question with as little success. Russell’s second failure, in 1860, to the disgust of Bright and the Radicals, shelved Reform for the rest of Palmerston’s life. But now that his influence was removed, Gladstone brought forward a new Reform Bill. It was a moderate measure, and proposed to cut down the voting qualification to a £14 yearly rental in the counties, and a £7 limit in the boroughs. But the Palmerstonians, who hated the notion of Reform, led by Lord Elcho and the shrewd and caustic Robert Lowe, retired, as Bright said, “into a new *Cave of Adullam*, to which, like David, they invited every one in distress and discontented.” Conservatives and Adullamites joined together to defeat the ministry, and in June 1866 drove it out of office.

Earl Russell’s
Ministry,
1865-66.

The Reform
Bill of 1866,
and the Cave
of Adullam.

2. For a third time the uneasy task fell to Derby and Disraeli of forming a stop-gap ministry from a minority in the Lower House. But Disraeli saw that there was a new chance to a constructive Conservative leader, and, as a great Reform Agitation at last broke out, he boldly renewed his old declaration for Parliamentary Reform. “You cannot,” he told his followers, “establish a party of mere resistance

The Third
Derby-Disraeli
Ministry,
1866-68.

to change, for change is inevitable in a progressive country. The point is whether the change be carried out in deference to the customs and traditions of the people, or in deference to abstract principles and general doctrines." In 1867 he proposed his *Reform Bill*. Hot partisans rejoiced at "dishing the Whigs," and the mass of the party loyally followed their leader, though some feared the "leap in the dark," and Lord Cranborne (afterwards Marquis of Salisbury) and Lord Carnarvon left the ministry in disgust. Disraeli's Bill was greatly cut about by the Liberal majority, but in August he successfully carried it through. Next year Irish and Scotch Reform Acts completed the great change.

The following were the chief provisions of the *Reform Acts of 1867 and 1868* :—

(1) All male householders got votes in English and Scotch boroughs, if rated to pay poor's rate ; but in Ireland a £4 rating limit was fixed. Lodgers who paid £10 a year for unfurnished rooms could also vote.

**The Second
Reform Acts
1867-68.**

(2) Occupiers of £12 a year (£14 in Scotland) got votes in the counties. (3) 11 boroughs were disfranchised, 4 for bribery, and 35 having less than 10,000 inhabitants lost one member. (4) The vacant seats were given mostly to the greater counties, especially Lancashire and the West Riding ; but ten new boroughs got one member apiece ; two new London boroughs (Chelsea and Hackney) got two each ; Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow got a third member ; and Salford, Dundee, and Merthyr a second ; while 10 new boroughs returned one apiece, as also did London University and the Scotch Universities (grouped in pairs). (5) To give some representation to minorities, an elector could only vote for two wherever there were three members to be returned. *Household Suffrage* was thus brought in in the boroughs, and a great step was made towards democracy, for it was plain that the middle-class county constituencies could not last very much longer, now that all workmen who happened to live in boroughs had their votes.

3. A war broke out in 1866 between Austria and Prussia, for the supremacy of Germany, and ended with the crushing defeat of the former at *Sadowa* in Bohemia, and a treaty which broke up the German Confederation of 1815, turned out Austria from all dealings with German affairs, and built up a *North German Confederation*, with Prussia at its head. It was a great triumph for King William and Bismarck, and nearly brought about German unity ; for Prussia ruled the new Confederation, and had absorbed, with other States, Schleswig-Holstein and Hanover, which since 1837 had been a separate kingdom from England, under Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, the nearest male heir, and his son, the blind King

**The Austro-
Prussian War
1866.**

George. Italy also took advantage of Austria's distress, and went to war with her old master, though she was beaten by land and sea. Yet Prussia's success procured the evacuation of Venetia by the Austrians, and its transference to Victor Emanuel's kingdom. All through both struggles England kept a strict neutrality. But in 1867 Lord Stanley (son of the Premier), the Foreign Secretary, backed up France in getting the great fortress of Luxemburg dismantled and neutralised like Belgium.

In 1868 England was compelled to wage a petty war against King Theodore of *Abyssinia*, a brave, reckless barbarian who had imprisoned some English subjects. Sir R. Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) led 12,000 troops, mostly Indian, to Theodore's inland stronghold of *Magdala*, and compelled the release of the captives. Theodore slew himself in a fit of despair. A rough settlement was made with his successor, and the English troops retired as quickly as possible. A new departure was made by Lord Carnarvon's successfully carrying out the federation of the chief North American Colonies as the *Dominion of Canada*. The Abyssinian War, 1868.

4. Ireland was again the chief trouble. Since the time of the Young Ireland agitation and the Famine, Ireland had been getting a little more prosperous, through the bettering of agriculture and trade. The Fenians, 1868-67. But it had never been contented, though the break-up of the *Pope's Brass Band* under Sadleir and Keogh had for some years prevented the formation of an Irish party in Parliament. A thoroughgoing revolutionary movement was started about 1863 by a party of Irish and Irish Americans who hated English rule, and aimed at setting up an Irish republic. A secret society, the *Irish Republican Brotherhood*, known as the *Fenians*, was set on foot, headed in Ireland by John O'Leary and James Stephens, one of the *Head Centres*, and advocated by Jeremiah Donovan, calling himself O'Donovan Rossa, whose newspaper, the *Irish People*, was one mouthpiece of the new agitation. Though the priests held aloof, frightened by the anti-clerical views of many of the American Irish, the peasants were warmly sympathetic. But in 1865 their plans were betrayed to the Russell Government, and several of the leaders were arrested. Stephens escaped from prison, but O'Donovan Rossa was sentenced to imprisonment for life. One of the last acts of Russell's was to pass an Act suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act* in Ireland. The Irish-American leaders then

fled over the Atlantic, where they planned an invasion of Canada. In May 1866 a disorganised band of twelve hundred Fenians crossed the Niagara river, but they were routed by a few militia, and their schemes discouraged and disavowed by the United States Government. In February 1867 Michael Davitt and others attacked Chester Castle with a view to getting arms. In September Allen, Larkin, and Gould rescued Kelly and Deasy from a police van at Manchester, shooting the police sergeant in charge, for which crime they were hung. In December the wall of Clerkenwell prison, where several Fenian leaders were confined, was blown down with gunpowder, through which many innocent persons were fearfully injured, several slain, and all London frightened. These acts forced attention to the state of Ireland, where also the Fenians had sought to raise several revolts that proved wretched failures. The Liberals took the opportunity of uniting their scattered **Fall of Disraeli,** forces in a cry for the Disestablishment of the **1868.**

Irish Church. In April 1868 Gladstone carried against the Government a resolution in favour of Disestablishment; but Disraeli refused to give up office until the carrying of his Irish and Scotch Reform Bills allowed him to appeal to a new electorate. He was now Prime Minister, for in February 1868 weak health had forced Derby to resign. Lord Cairns, a rigid Irish protestant, and a fine lawyer, now became Chancellor. But in November the elections went against the Government, and Disraeli resigned.

5. With a majority of 120 the long struggles of the Liberals for an opportunity to carry out their designs seemed over, and a strong ministry was formed **The first Gladstone Ministry,** with Gladstone as Prime Minister, Robert Lowe **1868-74.**

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Clarendon Foreign Secretary, Cardwell Secretary for War, H. A. Bruce, a Glamorganshire landowner, Home Secretary, Argyll Indian Secretary, and Childers First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Hartington, son of the Duke of Devonshire, Postmaster-General, Lord de Grey and Ripon (son of "Prosperity Robinson") President, and W. E. Forster, a Yorkshire Quaker, Vice-President of the Council, G. J. Goschen, a city banker, first Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and afterwards Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Earl Spencer Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Radical John Bright President of the Board of Trade. The strongly Liberal section soon got the upper hand of

the aristocratic Whigs, and for the next six years their pent-up energies found an outlet in carrying out a series of changes, greater than ever previously attempted.

6. The elections sealed the fate of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. All Catholic Irishmen looked upon the Established Church as the badge of foreign conquest, and nearly half the Irish Protestants were Nonconformist Presbyterians. The Church had been, to some extent, reformed by the Grey

Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869.

ministry, and was now doing its spiritual work far better than in the eighteenth century. But it was by its very character a memorial of English political ascendancy; and after the failure of the "Appropriation Clause" had disposed of the last hope of a scheme for concurrent endowment, its fate was doomed. Yet the Government Bill was almost wrecked when the Lords put in amendments which the Commons would not accept. However, the good sense of Lord Cairns, himself an Irish Churchman, suggested a compromise, and the measure passed.

By the *Irish Church Act* (1) The Church of Ireland was disestablished, the Church Courts abolished, and the Irish bishops lost their seats in the Lords; (2) The grants to the Catholic seminary at Maynooth and the *Regium Donum* to the Presbyterians were commuted; (3) A new corporation, the "Church of Ireland," was created, to which was transferred the churches, cathedrals, parsonages, and all private endowment since 1660. Altogether over £10,000,000 was secured to the Church; (4) Full compensation was given to the clergy for their life interests; (5) The surplus was set aside to relieve unavoidable distress outside the scope of the Poor Law.

7. After settling the Church, the new ministry made a bold attempt to grapple with the Irish land question. The weak points of the Irish land system had been revealed by the Devon Commission, but nothing had been done to redress them, and a long series of abortive Bills showed the indifference or thoughtlessness of the successive governments. Speaking roughly, the land law in England and Ireland was the same, but the practical differences were enormous, owing to the very different condition of the two countries. In both countries rents were supposed to be settled by full and free competition. In England this was to some degree real, but in Ireland the needy and improvident peasant farmers, to whom getting a farm was their only help against starvation, were quite unable to bargain on equal terms with their landlords. Moreover, while in England most improvements were made, and all buildings set up by the landlord, in Ireland all improvements were made and buildings set up by the tenant,

though, as soon as they were made, they became the legal property of the landlord. In the old times custom, which had almost the force of law, kept the tenant on his holding for generations together. But now grasping agents and improving landlords, with English ideas, sought simply to make all they could out of their lands, and rack-rented and evicted just as they thought fit. In the north the *Ulster Custom* allowed the outgoing tenant to sell his goodwill and improvements to the incoming farmer. But this, and similar customs elsewhere, had no formal legal sanction. Thus it was that the very improvements in Irish agriculture since the famine had only added to the great sum of Irish agrarian discontent, and deepened the wide and impassable differences of race, religious feelings, and often language, between landlord and tenant.

The session of 1870 was mostly taken up with the *Irish Land Act*, which sought to remedy these evils. By it (1) The Ulster Tenant Right, and other similar customs, were recognised as legal; (2) Tenants evicted by landlords, except for non-payment of rent, were allowed compensation for disturbance; (3) Compensation was given for improvements; (4) The Government offered to lend money to tenants who wished to buy their holdings.

The effect of the Act was to establish or recognise a *dual ownership* of the land between landlord and tenant, as Disraeli pointed out. But it was not thorough enough, and therefore not a great success. It was in some ways a compromise between what were regarded as the teachings of Political Economy and the fruits of Irish experience. It was therefore based neither on the recognition of free competition nor on the State regulation of the whole business. It left landlords as free to evict as ever, if they chose to pay the compensation. By granting long leases they could, and did, evade the Act. The purchase-clauses did little good, as landlords were seldom willing to sell. Moreover, the grievances of centuries were not forgotten in a day; and the yielding to outrage reforms that had been denied to argument and reason might naturally be looked on as an incentive to violence and crime. A stringent *Peace Preservation Act* passed side by side with the Land Act, and preserved order for a time.

8. National education was at last set on foot through the clever compromises, and rough, shrewd common-sense, of William E. Forster, the Vice-President of the Council. In 1869 the *Endowed Schools Act* established a Commission to examine into the abuses which often prevented the old

grammar-schools from doing their work. In 1870 Forster carried the *Elementary Education Act*, which allowed districts to start school boards, levy a rate, and compel children to go to school. Despite the violent opposition of the Dissenters, the teachers were allowed to read and explain the Bible, but all parents who liked could take the children away, and no catechism or dogmatic teaching was allowed. In 1871 an Act was passed which abolished religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge.

National
Education
1869-71.

9. In 1871 Cardwell, the War Minister, carried an *Army Regulation Act*, which brought in *short service*, and established the germs of a new army system, to include *militia* and *volunteers*, as well as the *regulars*, and proposed to abolish the old system of officers buying their promotion, with compensation to those affected. But the old army interest in the House did its best to stop by obstruction the passing of the Act, and the Lords tried to shelve it. So the Government took the high-handed but necessary course of *abolishing purchase* by a Royal Warrant. In 1872 the preliminary reorganisation of the army was completed, but still greater reforms were probably required.

Cardwell's
Army Reforms,
1871-72.

10. In 1872 Government passed a *Ballot Act* to make voting for members of Parliament secret, and a *Licensing Act* regulating public-houses more severely than before. In 1873 it completed its series of reforms by the Chancellor Lord Selborne's *Judicature Act*, which united all the different chief Courts of Law at Westminster in a single High Court of Justice, with a new Supreme Court of Appeal (retaining however an ultimate recourse to the House of Lords), abolished the clashing systems of Common Law and Equity Procedure, and aimed at making law simpler, cheaper, and more certain.

Ballot, 1872.

Law Reform,
1873.

11. Stirring events abroad made English foreign policy very important during these years.

In 1870 a war broke out between the French Empire and Prussia, now backed up by every German State except Austria. Both sides hurried on this inevitable struggle, Napoleon hoping to prop up his tottering throne; but corruption had sapped the strength of the French forces, and the German armies were larger, better organised, better trained, better armed, more skilfully led, and filled with strong enthusiasm for German national unity. The victory fell at once to the Germans. They invaded France in August, shut up one great French army in *Metz*, forced the Emperor and Macmahon to surrender with another at *Sedan*, and besieged a third inside Paris. But France now shook off the Empire

The Franco-
German War,
1870-71.

(September 4), and established the *Third Republic*, which has lasted ever since. The fiery orator Gambetta inspired the South with a wonderful zeal for the defence of the country, raised and organised three new armies beyond the Loire, and for a time put the Germans in a perilous plight. But the Metz army surrendered through the weakness and wickedness of its general, Bazaine. The well-led German hosts kept the enthusiastic but raw and ill-commanded French levies at bay, and in March 1871, after the surrender of Paris, the *Peace of Frankfurt* ended the war, by which France gave up Alsace and part of Lorraine, including Metz, and paid a war indemnity of five milliards of francs (£200,000,000). The war also completed *German unity*, for the southern States joined with the north in a new *German empire*, under King William of Prussia, who accepted the Imperial crown at Versailles. *Italian unity* was also secured at the same time; for on the fall of Napoleon, who had upheld the temporal power of the Pope, the Italians entered the Papal States, and Rome became the capital of Victor Emanuel's kingdom. This drew united Italy very close to united Germany. The Austrian House giving up for the time her old anti-German and anti-Italian policy, soon joined the league, with which Russia was also for a time connected, but the re-opening of the Eastern Question brought out a sharp antagonism between Russia and Austria which, in the long run, brought Russia nearer France. But to this day the *Triple Alliance* of Germany, Austria, and Italy binds middle Europe closely together.

Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary after Clarendon's death in 1870, upheld the neutrality of England, letting both France and Germany know that she would resist by arms any attempt to violate the neutrality of Belgium. But she refused to join Italy in a league of neutrals, and urged on the victors to grant a more favourable peace to the vanquished.

12. Russia profited by the war to declare, in the most high-handed way, its right and intention to withdraw from the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and again keep warships in the Black Sea. Much indignation was expressed in England, but nothing was done to prevent it. At last, in March 1871, a *Black Sea Conference* was held at London, in which the clauses which Russia declared invalid were quietly removed from the Treaty, for England was not prepared to fight to maintain them, and no other Power would lift a finger on her side.

Many efforts had been made to settle the United States' case against us, and by the *Treaty of Washington* (May 1871) the long pending *Alabama Claims* were referred to *arbitration*. In June 1872 the arbitrators decided at Geneva that England was to pay 15,000,000 dollars for her remissness. It was a heavy, and possibly excessive sum, and the Government was severely blamed. It had, however, honestly, though perhaps feebly, tried to carry out a high-minded and unselfish policy.

The Black Sea
Conference
1871.

The Alabama
Arbitration,
1872.

13. No Government which tries to do much can avoid blunders, but the Gladstone Government's failure in foreign policy went hand in hand with failure at home. Complaints were made of the whimsical budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the lack of firmness of the Home Secretary, and the roughness and want of tact of some of the lesser ministers. Bye-elections showed that the ministry had altogether lost its old popularity. The "harassed vested interests" banded together against it. The Opposition became bolder, as it saw that every one was sick of reform, and Disraeli laughed at the Cabinet ministers sitting opposite to him as a "range of exhausted volcanoes." Two or three doubtful appointments roused a just outcry against the discredited ministry, and when they brought forward the *Irish University Bill*, which proposed to set up a secular University of Ireland, in which no theology, history, or philosophy were to be taught, and to break down Dublin University, the only teaching institution in Ireland with traditions worthy of regard, the Irish Catholics joined the Conservatives and the independent Liberals, led by the straightforward and honest Cambridge professor, Henry Fawcett, in throwing out the unworkable scheme. Gladstone resigned in March, but Disraeli refused to form a fourth stop-gap ministry. The shattered Government reformed its ranks by getting rid of its weaker members, and the Prime Minister sought to restore the good fame of its finances by himself acting as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Some little credit was got by the vigour with which Sir Garnet Wolseley waged a little war in West Africa against Coffee, king of the *Ashantees*, ending with the burning of Coomassie, his capital, early in 1874. But the position of the ministers got so unbearable that in January 1874 they suddenly dissolved Parliament, and finding a majority of more than 50 Conservatives returned to the new House of Commons, finally resigned. They had done great things, yet few Cabinets since the first Reform Bill have fallen more signally.

14. For nearly thirty years Disraeli had led the Conservative party. Yet his followers had always been in a minority, and whether in opposition or as ministers on sufferance, they had had little chance of showing their statesmanship. But Disraeli had now succeeded in making his popular national Toryism attractive to the lower middle classes who had hitherto voted Liberal, and to the workmen of the towns, to whom he had first given votes. *A Conservative Reaction.*

The failures
and fall of the
Gladstone
Ministry,
1873-74.

The Disraeli
Ministry,
1874-80.

as decided as in 1710 or 1846, proved him a party leader of great insight and shrewdness, and enabled him to form a strong Government that kept in power for over six years. He offered a policy of rest from violent changes, along with steady practical improvements, good administration, and careful regard to the interests of the empire.

Disraeli himself became Prime Minister; the genial and popular Sir Stafford Northcote was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Derby, son of the former Premier, a great Lancashire landowner, was Foreign Secretary; Lord Carnarvon again went to the Colonial Office; Cranborne, now Marquis of Salisbury, became Secretary for India; Gathorne Hardy, Secretary for War; and R. A. Cross, Home Secretary. Lord Cairns was again Chancellor; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach acted as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

15. The new ministers proved competent administrators, and passed useful measures, which, not having much party bearing, hardly brought them so much credit as **Home Govern-** they deserved. The first session was almost **ment, 1874-80.** taken up with *ecclesiastical legislation*. It was proposed to amend the *Endowed Schools Act* in the interests of the Church, but the storm of opposition led the Government to content itself with handing over the powers of the thorough-going Endowed Schools Commission to the less advanced Charity Commission. The *Scotch Church Patronage Act* at last gave congregations the power of choosing their own ministers, though it was now too late to do much good. The *Public Worship Regulation Act*, passed, as Disraeli said, "to put down Ritualism," failed in its object, but established a new court which has proved offensive to a large body of the clergy. The Government completed their predecessors' *Judicature Acts*. Their own measures were numerous. The *Agricultural Holdings Act* sought to give tenants compensation for improvements. Lord Cairns's *Land Transfer Bill* aimed at registering titles to land. Cross's *Labourers' Dwellings Act* allowed the corporations of large towns compulsory powers to buy land and build houses for the poor. Northcote's *Friendly Societies Bill* gave benefit societies an opportunity of having their solvency certified by the Government. But all these Bills, wise and well-meaning in their scope, were *permissive* and not *compulsory*. So, though they sometimes prepared public opinion for stronger measures in the same direction, they were not wholly satisfactory, as the worst offenders found it easy to ignore them altogether. But by defining more liberally what constituted *criminal breach of contract* and *conspiracy*, and by consolidating the *Factory Acts*, the ministry did good service to the working classes.

16. In Parliament the Government was very strong, its well-drilled followers responding with but little murmuring to the most sudden commands of their leaders. ^{Irish Home Rule, 1870-80.} The leadership of the Opposition was now resigned by Gladstone to Lord Hartington. In 1876 Disraeli became Earl of Beaconsfield, and left the Commons, under the mild and gentle guidance of Sir Stafford Northcote, to face a new Irish difficulty. In 1870 a *Home Rule League* had been formed to agitate for a local parliament to manage Irish business. A body of *Home Rulers* were soon sent to Parliament, led by Isaac Butt, a "weak, kindly, unassuming, childlike," and eloquent Protestant lawyer, and soon mustered about 60 "patriots and placehunters." But the more determined and thoroughgoing Home Rulers grew tired of Butt's easy methods. They sought to further their cause, under Biggar's guidance, by taking advantage of the forms of the House of Commons to force the Government to listen to them under pressure of systematic obstruction, and found a sort of justification by more attention being paid to their demands. A small knot of members, regardless of the orderly and gentlemanly traditions of the House, was able to keep Parliament sitting all night, and almost prevent any business from being done. The leadership of his disorderly and disobedient followers gradually dropped from Butt's nerveless hands. Virtually deposed in 1877, he died in 1879. A new *Nationalist Party* was now formed under the stronger, cooler, and more astute guidance of Charles Stewart Parnell, a Protestant country gentleman from Wicklow. Its objects were even more agrarian than political. The *Land Act* had not fully dealt with the evils it had sought to remedy. But the new party went further than seeking to amend it. They started, in October 1879, a *Land League* to "bring about a reduction of rack rents, and to obtain the ownership of the soil for the occupier." Parnell visited America to win the help and money of the American-Irish for the crusade against "landlordism." Outrages became common, intensified by violent speeches to ignorant and excitable audiences, suffering terribly from the severe distress that now broke out in Ireland. The Government took steps to relieve the famine, and arrested some of the more violent Irish leaders. But no further proposal was made of agrarian legislation.

17. The *Eastern Question* had now again come to a head. The national movement which had united Germany and Italy was felt in the Balkan Peninsula; but the difficulty was

that it contained not one nation but many. The Slavs were broken into petty fractions under different rulers, though they all turned to Russia as the natural head of a *Pan-Slavonic* movement, which would have been as fatal to the House of Austria as to the Sultan. There were also the claims of the Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians (a Ugrian race akin to the Hungarians, but using a Slavonic language), and Roumanians (a Slav people speaking a Romance tongue) to be considered. But they were all united against the hateful misrule of their barbarous Mohammedan oppressors. Bosnia and Bulgaria were the chief scenes of Turkish outrage, and both called to Russia for help and support. The English, however, would not permit Russia's advancing into Constantinople, especially since her recent conquests in Turkestan had brought her almost to the frontiers of Afghanistan, and not very far from the British Indian border. Still, all attempts to reform Turkey had clearly failed, and even Beaconsfield felt that it was useless to prop up so miserable a power. The best way now, as in the days of Canning, would probably have been for Europe to combine to force the Turks to give a large section of their worse ruled subjects some kind of self-government. But the Sultan opposed a stolid resistance to the *Andrássy Note*, which sought to force a few needful reforms on him, and deemed the unwise refusal of England to accept the more stringent *Berlin Note* a proof of our intention to back him up in any case. Servia and Montenegro at last took up arms against the Porte, and zealous Russian volunteers flocked to their standards. The Turks had gained some easy victories over the ill-led Servian levies, and, flushed with success, rejected the demands of the European *Conference at Constantinople* (January 1877). This was the last effort of diplomacy. The failure of the European

The Russo-Turkish War, 1877-78.

Concert, and the crying wrongs of the Christians of the Balkan lands, and refusal of all redress, drove Russia to declare war. A fierce struggle raged for a year between enemies equally matched in stubborn valour and faith in their cause, though unequal in warlike skill and science. Despite the gallant resistance of the Turks behind the hastily-constructed but well-munitioned earthworks of *Plevna*, the skill of Todleben built up counterworks, and forced their surrender. The steep and dangerous Balkan passes were crossed by the patient and stalwart Russians, though with fearful loss,

in the bitterest cold of winter. The beginning of 1878 saw the Russians marching in triumph on the undefended capital, Constantinople. Since 1876 there had grown up a strong feeling in England against helping the Turks, when it was found out with what barbarity they had treated the protesting Bulgarians. But the plain danger of a Russian occupation of Constantinople now brought about a loud cry for war. Beaconsfield fostered the agitation, and sent the fleet to the Sea of Marmora, called out the reserves in England, and hurried Sepoys from India to Malta. Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary, and Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, resigned in disgust; but the new Foreign Minister, Lord Salisbury, took up a more decided attitude.

Russia gave moderate terms to the Turks at San Stefano (3d March 1878), but Lord Salisbury declared that they must be modified, and particularly objected to the proposed Bulgarian state, extending from the Danube to the Ægean, as dangerous to British interests. A Congress of the Great Powers met, in June 1878, at *Berlin*, in which Beaconsfield and Salisbury represented the United Kingdom. But before the meeting, Russia and England came to an agreement, which the Congress had only to ratify.

By the *Treaty of Berlin* (1) The Bulgaria of the Treaty of San Stefano was broken up; (2) Bulgaria north of the Balkans was made a practically independent state though paying tribute to Turkey; (3) Bulgaria south of the Balkans (Eastern Roumelia) was kept "under the direct rule of the Sultan," but was allowed "administrative autonomy" under a Christian Pasha; (4) Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania were declared independent, and received additions to their territories; (5) Russia's frontier was extended to the mouth of the Danube, and she acquired Kars and Batoum in Asia; (6) A few obvious reforms were promised in Crete and Armenia; (7) Fresh lands were to be ceded by separate treaty to Greece; (8) An agreement with Turkey to protect Asia Minor had already secured for the English the practical rule of Cyprus; the Austrian House took possession of Bosnia.

The Berlin
Treaty, 1878.

Beaconsfield came back from Berlin boasting that he had brought "peace with honour," having brilliantly succeeded in what he loudly proclaimed was his sole object, the maintenance of British interests in the East. He had been accused of a private design of backing up Turkey; but if he ever held this policy, he seems to have given it up as impracticable. The dying Turkish Empire was to be replaced by national self-governing states. That they should at first look for guidance to Russia, their creator and saviour, was the natural result of the apathy of the Powers that had thrown the work of regeneration on the State most

suspected of ulterior designs of its own. But as they grew stronger, Russia would naturally become their greatest danger. Yet this plan seemed the only way of preventing the direct rule of Russia in the Balkan Peninsula.

18. The same active policy led to intervention in Egypt, ruled since 1863 by Ismail, son of Ibrahim, and grandson of Mehemet Ali. The new *Khedive* (Viceroy) was a vain, showy man, full of great schemes, and anxious to bring in Western money, enterprise, and civilisation. He actively encouraged the daring and adventurous Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, in digging the *Suez Canal*, though engineers said it was impossible, and Palmerston, out of ill-judged jealousy, did his best to stop the works. Yet in 1869 the canal was opened, and England profited very largely by the faith and enterprise of the French shareholders. But Ismail's wasteful personal extravagance, and his outlay on his army and fleet, his great expenses in conquering the *Sudan*, or Black Country, around the Upper Nile, and in bringing in railways, telegraphs, harbours, and other Western works, had imposed a crushing burden on the wretched *fellaheen* (Egyptian peasantry), and Egypt was rapidly becoming bankrupt. In 1875 the Cabinet bought Ismail's shares (nearly one-half of the whole capital) in the Suez Canal for England, and so gained control over the new waterway to India. But this money only staved off the Khedive's distress for a short time. England and France were so much interested in Egypt that they were gradually led to interfere, though France soon grew jealous of England's increasing ascendancy. At last Ismail made a great effort to shake off foreign dictation. He failed, and was deposed in 1879. His son Tewfik, a nominal ruler, now became Khedive, and England and France set up a *Dual Control*, which put the government of the country really into their hands.

19. The Government also made an effort to establish English influence in Afghanistan, but with disastrous results. Lord Carnarvon's attempt to set up a confederation of the Canadian type in South Africa was also a failure. The annexations of the Transvaal (1877) and the Zulu War (1879) were but the beginnings of fresh disasters. But these were hardly felt before the Conservatives were driven out of office.

20. Absorbed in foreign affairs, the Government had not dealt very vigorously with rising difficulties at home, or ruled very sternly the disorderly House of Commons. Its

Egypt and the
Dual Control,
1863-79.

Afghanistan
and South
Africa.

foreign policy, though much praised by some, was violently attacked by others. Gladstone came from his retirement to denounce with fervid eloquence the threatened alliance with the "unspeakable Turk," who had brought about the "Bulgarian atrocities," and held up to scorn the weak financial policy which paid for useless wars by cutting down the Sinking Fund, or borrowing from day to day. A wave of commercial depression now spread general gloom and discontent, and, as has always been the case, told against the Government, which now made a bad blunder in a proposed scheme for buying up the London water companies at extravagantly high rates. Yet there was no such general outcry as that which heralded the fall of Gladstone in 1874. But in democratic England few ministries have much chance of outliving the duration of an ordinary Parliament. Fearful of worse to come, the Government hastily dissolved in March 1880; but the new elections told strongly against them. In vain Beaconsfield sought to rally the nation round his policy with the cry that the rule of the Liberals would be dangerous to the empire. The fiery zeal of Gladstone's *Midlothian Speeches* stirred up a deep response amidst an excitable and emotional electorate. The constituencies gave the Liberals a majority of 50 over Conservatives and Home Rulers combined. In April Beaconsfield resigned. A year later he died.

Fall of the
Beaconsfield
Ministry, 1880.

21. In the new Liberal ministry Gladstone was First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Selborne was Chancellor, Sir William Harcourt Home Secretary, Granville Foreign Secretary, Childers War Secretary, Lord Hartington Indian Secretary, Lord Kimberley Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Cowper Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and W. E. Forster his Chief Secretary. The Radicals were largely represented. Bright held the nominal office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Henry Fawcett was Postmaster-General. Joseph Chamberlain, a Radical Birmingham manufacturer, who had carried out great reforms in that town when Mayor, was President of the Board of Trade; and Sir Charles Dilke, who had once been looked on with horror as a Republican, was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. These two were the chief spokesmen of the new school of Radicals, which, unlike the Manchester School of Bright and Cobden, believed that vigorous State interference would do more good than the old cry of *laissez faire*, and had no sympathy with the ignorant apathy with which the older school regarded our foreign and colonial interests.

The Second
Gladstone
Ministry,
1880-85.

22. In 1880 the new Government began by the *Burials Act*, which allowed Nonconformist funerals in churchyards;

the *Employers' Liability Act*, which protected workmen from the negligence or carelessness of their masters; and the *Ground Game Act*, to save farmers' crops from hares and rabbits. But Ireland was its chief concern.

Irish Policy.
1880-85.

It sought to relieve Irish distress and satisfy reasonable demands for reform, while upholding law and order with a strong hand. With the former object it passed the *Relief of Distress Act* (1880), which, however, was shorn by the Lords of the important clause which allowed tenants evicted for not paying their rent the same "compensation for disturbance" as if they had been turned out for any other reason. Next year it passed the *Second Irish Land Act*.

This Act frankly accepted the *dual proprietorship* disavowed in 1870, and gave up competitive rents altogether. It allowed (1) Tenants to sell their interest in their holdings to the highest bidder. (2) Tenants to apply at their will to a Land Court to fix a judicial rent, to be revised every fifteen years. (3) If the tenant break the statutory condition, his tenancy might be ended by compulsory sale of his interest. (4) English-managed estates were excluded from the Act. (5) Landlords kept some power to object to new tenants. (6) Provisions were made for helping on peasant proprietorship.

To maintain order and put down outrages, Forster carried the *Protection for Life and Property Act* in the face of fierce and violent obstruction, and arrested Parnell and forty other leaders of the land agitation. The Land

Coercion.

League thereupon sent out a *No Rent Manifesto*, which led to its being put down as "an illegal and criminal association." But in 1882 the Government somewhat changed its policy, and in consequence of a negotiation with the Irish leaders, known as the *Kilmainham Treaty*, Lord Cowper and Forster resigned in disgust, and Parnell and his colleagues were let out of prison. But on 6th May, two days after his appointment, the new Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, brother of Lord Hartington, was stabbed to death by Brady, one of the *Invincibles*, a society of Irish conspirators, in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. Others of the gang murdered his companion, the permanent Under-Secretary, Thomas Henry Burke. On this a *Prevention of Crimes Bill* was hurriedly passed, and, to prevent more obstruction, new parliamentary rules were drawn up in an autumn session which allowed the forced closing of the debate if the majority were sufficiently large. But the Irish were now fiercely hostile to the Government, and sought any occasion to turn them out of office.

23. Foreign complications soon began to overwhelm the Government. The long troubles begun by Lord Lytton's interference with Afghanistan were only ended by the withdrawal of the English. A series of disasters in South Africa led to the restoration of the independence of the Transvaal Republic. But the greatest difficulty was in Egypt, where Arabi Pasha had started a national Egyptian party, which sought to put an end to European supremacy, and where a great religious rising in the Sudan under a prophet who proclaimed himself *the Mahdi*, threatened the destruction of the Egyptian power on the Upper Nile. The *Dual Control* broke down when the crisis came, and France left England to cope single-handed against Arabi. In July 1882 *Alexandria* was bombarded, and in September Sir Garnet Wolseley completely defeated Arabi at *Tel-el-Kebir*. This led to the nominal restoration of the Khedive's power in Egypt; but henceforth Egypt was practically ruled by England. But in November 1883 the Mahdi completely crushed the Egyptian army under its Pasha Hicks, an English officer, who perished in the defeat. The Mahdi now ruled the whole Sudan, save a few strong posts where loyal Egyptian garrisons still held out against him. The chief of these was at *Khartum*, the capital, situated at the junction of the White and the Blue Nile. England had no wish to keep up the Egyptian power in the Sudan, but it was ungenerous to leave the garrisons to their fate, and the Mahdi, if not checked, might easily spread his influence among the fierce Mohammedans of Egypt itself. In January 1884 the Government sent General Gordon to Khartum to arrange for withdrawing the garrisons from the Sudan.

Egyptian
troubles,
1882-84.

24. Charles George Gordon was an engineer officer, who, having served with distinction in the Crimea and in the China War, had won great fame by putting down for the Chinese government the formidable revolt of the *Taipings* (1864), showing in his hard and difficult task a wonderful courage and simple faith, shrewd insight into savage character, and an extraordinary power of governing men and inspiring them with trust and enthusiasm for him. Henceforth known as *Chinese Gordon*, he ultimately became ruler of the Egyptian Sudan (1874-1879), where he led a great crusade against the slave-trade, and again attracted all his subjects by the simplicity, honesty, and energy which shone through his fair complexion, honest blue eyes, and plain dress and

Chinese
Gordon.

manner. He now went off on his dangerous mission, unarmed and almost unattended, and was welcomed in Khartum with almost the old enthusiasm.

No man, however great, could save the garrisons as things then were. Gordon soon saw either that the Mahdi must be "smashed" by British troops, or that some strong government must be established in the Sudan to save it from anarchy. He therefore asked either for troops or for the appointment, as his helper in ruling the Sudan, of the "Black Pasha," Zubeir, an old enemy of his in the days of his government, who, though cruel and violent, and the great upholder of the slave-dealers, was the only strong man who could keep some sort of order in the disturbed and barbarous province. The Government refused both of his requests, largely out of fear of popular opinion. Gordon was thoroughly disgusted. "I am now free," he cried, "to act according to circumstances. I shall hold out if I can, and if not, retire to the Equator, leaving to you the disgrace of abandoning the garrisons, and the certainty that you will be forced to smash up the Mahdi." The Mahdi's hosts soon drew near the doomed city, and a great cry arose in England to save the hero that defended it. After much hesitation the irresolute Government resolved to send an army to his release. In August 1884 Wolseley, now a lord, was again despatched to Egypt; and a force moved up the Nile to the relief of Gordon. With rare energy and amidst great hardships the English army pressed painfully up against the stream, but the water was exceptionally low, and progress was terribly slow. At last a flying column under General Stewart travelled through the scorching desert between Korti and Metemneh to avoid the great bend of the Nile, and found at Gubat some of Gordon's steamers sent down to meet them. On 28th January Sir C. Wilson (Stewart was slain in battle) steamed up to Khartum; but he was too late. On 26th January Khartum had been betrayed, and Gordon was slain by a fanatic against the Mahdi's commands.

Death of
Gordon, 1885.

Unwonted energy was now shown, and a plan was formed of sending a new army overland from Suakim, a port on the Red Sea, to Berber on the Nile. But the Government changed its mind again, and, throwing over the remaining garrisons, confined itself to defending Suakim and the Egyptian frontier. While this was going on Russia pressed on her forces in Afghanistan, and, after a fight with the

Afghans, occupied the advanced post of *Penjdeh* (30th March 1885). For a second time within eight years war seemed inevitable. But the question was referred to arbitration, and some sort of agreement patched up.

Penjdeh, 1885.

Meanwhile the Mahdi's influence declined in the strange way so common in the East. Egypt had now comparative rest.

25. The Government lost much ground in the country, and some in the Commons over the Sudan business. But a new *Franchise Bill* called away public attention, especially after it was rejected by the Lords, on the ground that no scheme for the Redistribution of seats accompanied it. But in an autumn session the Bill was brought forward again, a plan for redistributing seats being arranged by agreement between the Liberals and Conservatives. In December 1884 the *Third Reform Act* became law.

The Third Reform Act, 1884.

(1) It made the franchise in counties the same as in the boroughs, besides bringing in some new ways of getting a vote. (2) It disfranchised all boroughs with under 15,000 inhabitants, and reduced all under 50,000 to one member. (3) It cut up the country into single member districts, each having about 50,000 inhabitants; the only exceptions being old boroughs returning two representatives, between 50,000 and 165,000 inhabitants, and the City of London cut down to two members. The result was that London got 62 instead of 22 members; Liverpool 9, Manchester and Salford 9, Glasgow and Birmingham 7 each, and so on in proportion. The great towns, and still more the scattered country, mining and manufacturing districts, thus got representation in proportion to their numbers. Ireland and Wales kept their old number of members, though not entitled to so many. Thus England was made a thoroughgoing democracy, dependent on household suffrage, with almost equal electoral districts.

26. In June 1885 the Government was beaten on the budget by a combination of Conservatives and Irish Nationalists. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury formed a Conservative Government, with Sir Michael Hicks-Beach as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons, Northcote being got rid of by the nominally great post of First Lord of the Treasury and the Earldom of Iddesleigh. Soon after was passed *Lord Ashbourne's Act*, a wise measure for helping Irish tenants to buy their holdings. A general election followed in November, in which the Irish voted for the Conservatives. The result was that the Irish held the balance between the English parties. But they soon deserted the Conservatives when the Government had prepared to put down the *National League*, which had been set up when the Land League had been proclaimed; and Glad-

Salisbury
Ministry,
June 1885-
Jan. 1886.

stone was now meditating Home Rule. The Irish and Liberals joined to turn out the Conservatives, and in

**The Third
Gladstone
Ministry,
Feb.-July 1886.**

February 1886 a third Gladstone Ministry was established. The air was full of strange rumours, but no one knew what to believe. Hartington and Goschen, with other moderate Liberals, had refused to join the Government, alarmed by its Radical tendencies. Six weeks later Chamberlain and three other ministers threw up their places, disgusted at Gladstone's new Irish policy.

The Government now declared for Home Rule. In April the Prime Minister proposed a Bill to give the Irish a local Parliament and a local Executive, and shutting the Irish representatives out of the Imperial Parliament, which was

**The Home
Rule Move-
ment, and the
break-up of
the old Parties.**

still to carry on the general business of the Empire, while Irish landlords were to be bought out by a vast scheme of land purchase. But ninety-three Liberals, henceforward called Liberal Unionists, joined with the Conservatives in upholding the Union, and the second reading was lost by thirty votes. An appeal to the new democracy confirmed their action, for the elections in July gave the allied Liberal Unionist and Conservative parties a

**The Salisbury
Unionist Ministry,
August, 1886.**

large majority over Gladstonian and Parnellite Unionist Ministers, Home Rulers combined. Thereupon the Gladstone Government resigned, and Lord Salisbury was called upon to form a Government pledged to the defence of the Union.

27. The elections of July 1886 bring to an end the well-marked period which began with the death of Palmerston.

**The new
starting-point.**

For over twenty years the new Liberalism set forth its plans of large reforms, and for twenty years the new Conservatism maintained its spirited foreign policy and care for Imperial interests. These forces were now exhausted, or at least turned into other channels. The transition of democracy was now completed, and a new period, when feeling will rule more than reason, seems to have set in. The old party names and watchwords have ceased to have much meaning. New party lines form, new questions rise up, with the solution of which we are still busy. Social and economic problems, such as previously had been thought almost outside the province of the legislator, come to the front, while questions of colonial and foreign policy daily become increasingly important.

CHAPTER VI.

Victoria—Home Rule and the Empire—1886-1901.

1. LORD SALISBURY offered to share office with Lord Hartington, the Liberal Unionist leader. This proposal was refused, though Hartington assured Lord Salisbury of the general support of himself and his followers to his Government. The result of

The Salisbury Ministry, 1886-1892.

this was that the Salisbury Ministry in its original form was exclusively chosen from the Conservative wing of the Unionist majority. Perhaps the greatest surprise in its constitution was the appointment of the able but erratic Lord Randolph Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. However, within six months Churchill quarrelled on political grounds with his colleagues and resigned. This led to various other changes, which gave the Government its permanent shape. A Liberal Unionist, Mr. G. J. Goschen, was appointed Lord Randolph's successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer, while the leadership of the House of Commons was entrusted to a plain man of business, Mr. W. H. Smith. Lord Salisbury now added to his work as Prime Minister the duties of Foreign Secretary, while his nephew, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, was made Irish Secretary. On these ministers the main weight of responsibility fell.

2. Ireland was still restless. Some of the Parnellite leaders started an organisation called the *Plan of Campaign*, by which the tenants on certain estates, where

Ireland, 1886-1892.

it was believed that, despite the Land Act, rents were still too high, were instructed to withhold all rent from their landlord, and pay over to receivers of their own appointment such sums as they thought constituted a fair rent. These sums were to be held

The Plan of Campaign.

in trust for the landlords in case they should accept the tenants' terms. Otherwise, rent was to be refused altogether. Fresh disturbances followed this new act of war, but Mr. Balfour showed much tact and coolness in dealing both with the Irish party in Parliament and with the aggrieved tenants. A new *Crimes Act* was forced through Parliament in 1887, despite virulent opposition and systematic obstruction. For some time the state of Ireland remained very threatening. The landlords answered the *Plan of Campaign*

with evictions ; and serious riots, of which the most important was at Mitchelstown, menaced the public peace. Gradually, however, the outlook improved. The Plan of Campaign agitation died away, and Ireland was once more at rest.

A new phase of the Irish question was now started. Some articles in the *Times* newspaper, entitled "Parnellism

**The Parnell
Commission,
1888-1889.**

and Crime," accused the Irish leader of direct complicity with the worst outrages in Ireland.

In proof of this was published a *facsimile* of what professed to be a letter written by Parnell, in which he apologised to his more extreme supporters for feigning indignation at the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in 1882, and declared that though he "regretted the accident of Lord Frederick's death," he could not "refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." The charge was widely believed, and great excitement was produced. But Parnell solemnly declared that he had never written the letter, and brought an action against the *Times* for libel. About the same time, however, the ministry established, by Act of Parliament, a special commission of three judges, which was empowered to investigate all the charges brought by the *Times* against Parnell and other Irish members.

The Parnell Commission met in October 1888, and continued its sessions until the end of the following year. Hundreds of witnesses were examined, and a very careful inquiry made into every aspect of the case. The most sensational episode was the breakdown under cross-examination of a disreputable Irish journalist named Richard Pigott, who had sold to the *Times* the letter about the Phoenix Park outrages. Immediately afterwards Pigott privately confessed that he had forged the letter, and then escaped to Madrid, where he speedily committed suicide. This put an end to the most striking of the charges, and the commissioners in their report entirely acquitted Parnell of the charge of insincerity in denouncing the Phoenix Park murders, finding that the letter on which this accusation was based was a forgery. On the more general questions, however, they declared that Parnell and his associates had incited to intimidation, and "did not denounce the system of intimidation that led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect." Both parties expressed satisfaction with the report. The Home Rulers regarded Parnell's acquittal on the main charge as equivalent to his complete rehabilitation, and the general indignation felt at the blundering of the

Times destroyed much of the effect of the strong judicial condemnation of the Irish leader's political methods. The new alliance between the Parnellites and the followers of Gladstone became closer than ever, Parnell showing studied moderation in order to win over English opinion, and condemning the moribund *Plan of Campaign* of his more enthusiastic followers. Every sort of compliment was heaped upon him, and Gladstone eulogised him as a man charged with "the leadership of a nation and with the daily care of a nation's interests." A few months later, charges gravely affecting his private character were brought against him in the divorce court and left unanswered. Notwithstanding this, his Irish followers in Parliament unanimously re-elected him their leader for the new session of Parliament which began in November 1890. However, Parnell's English allies were much shocked at the conduct of the man in whose character they had so loudly and so recently expressed confidence. The day before Parnell's re-election as leader, Mr. Gladstone declared that "notwithstanding his splendid services, his continuance in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland." The Irish parliamentary party had therefore to choose between fidelity to their old leader and breaking with the English Liberals. Most of Parnell's subordinates, who had long resented his stern discipline, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of overthrowing him. The Catholic clergy in Ireland declared almost unanimously against him, and this decided the question for the mass of Irish Home Rulers. At a fresh meeting held in Committee Room No. 15 the Irish parliamentary party deposed Parnell, and elected as their new leader a popular, easy-going novelist, Mr. Justin M'Carthy.

Parnell refused to bow before the storm. A few faithful followers still clung to him in his misfortune, and the Irish party was rent in twain. All the fierce hatred of England that had marked Parnell's earlier career blazed out afresh. He appealed to the rebels and the "hillmen" to "save him from the English wolves now howling for his destruction." Several bye-elections in Ireland gave the two parties an opportunity of measuring their strength. Parnell's health was breaking up, but he showed extraordinary heroism and persistence in fighting to the last. But his candidates were easily defeated by the party of the priests and the English alliance, and in October 1891 Parnell himself died, worn out by the struggle. The split between the Parnellites and the

anti-Parnellites, as the two factions of the Irish party were now called, had now become so deep that it survived Parnell's death, and long continued to divide feeling as fiercely as ever. Its direct effect was to paralyse the Home Rule agitation, especially as personal dissensions soon began to split up even the anti-Parnellite party, now that the only man strong enough to maintain order among the Nationalist members was gone. It was not until 1899 that even a formal reunion between the various sections of the Irish party was patched up.

3. Foreign affairs occupied much of Lord Salisbury's attention. In 1888 the old German emperor William I. **Foreign Policy, 1886-1894.** died. His son and successor, Frederick III.,

was already smitten by a mortal disease, and only reigned three months. The next emperor, William II., was a young man of great energy and ambition, but of limited discretion, especially in speech. In 1890 he dismissed Prince Bismarck from office, and thus broke openly from the policy of the men who had founded the German empire. With Bismarck's fall, the last traditions of alliance between Germany and Russia disappeared, while the eagerness of the young emperor in pushing forward Bismarck's policy of extending German trade and colonies brought about a certain rivalry between her and England. There was fear for a time of revived troubles between Germany and France, but France at the moment was too weak to provoke aggression. Ministry rapidly succeeded ministry, and the republic seemed menaced by the fantastic intrigues of General Boulanger, who, backed up by the royalists and a section of the Radicals, declared open war against parliamentary government in France. Boulanger was in 1889 elected deputy for Paris, and seemed for a moment likely to carry all before him, but he was a poor creature, and dared not risk a *coup d'état*. He fled from France to escape prosecution, and in 1891 shot himself dead at Brussels. During all those years France remained very irritated with England, especially on account of Egypt, where the British were successfully carrying out the work of reorganisation in which the French had declined to take part. This distrust of England and a

The Franco-Russian Alliance. feeling that the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was hopelessly hostile caused the French to look for support to Russia, which since the death of the old emperor William and the fall of Bismarck had been utterly alienated from Germany. The result was the conclusion of a Dual Alliance between the

radical democracy of the West and the reactionary despotism of the East. By this union the great powers on the Continent were divided into two camps, the one closely watching and jealous of the other. It required no small skill for England to steer a clear course between them. The ever-open Eastern Question and the unceasing movement of Russia towards India made difficult our relations with that power, while the Egyptian question and colonial differences all over the globe involved us in some unfriendliness with France. Under these circumstances some politicians urged that England should draw near the Triple Alliance. It was felt, however, that most of the purposes for which the Triple Alliance was formed were matters with which England had no concern, and that as a general principle it was unwise for England to enter into specific alliances with the continental powers. Such a policy of isolation has, however, dangers of its own, especially as there were many points of colonial and commercial rivalry which made somewhat uneasy the relations of England and Germany. Lord Salisbury did his best to minimise these, and in 1890 concluded a treaty which delimited the English and German spheres in Africa. In return for various concessions, of which the chief was the abandonment to England of all claim to Zanzibar, Lord Salisbury ceded the little island of Heligoland, one of our spoils of the Napoleonic period, to the German empire. The result of this was that for the next few years our relations with the German government became much more cordial.

4. At home, the government of Lord Salisbury effected much good work. In 1887 it celebrated with loyal rejoicings the Jubilee, or fiftieth year of Queen Home Policy, Victoria's reign. A conspicuous feature of 1886-1892. the commemoration was the gathering together in London of the chief ministers of the self-governing colonies, and some of the most important of the vassal The Queen's Jubilee, 1887. princes of India. Thus the festivities, besides testifying to the deep loyalty and affection felt for the sovereign, had an important effect in bringing more closely together the various sections of the empire.

In Parliament much-needed reforms in procedure checked the obstruction that of recent years had threatened to paralyse legislation and degrade the character County Councils, 1888. of the House of Commons. The large Unionist majority, discreetly directed by Mr. W. H. Smith, was now able to carry out legislative changes of real importance.

Conspicuous among these was the act of 1888, which set up elected County Councils and transferred the local government of the various shires from the magistrates in Quarter-Sessions to these democratic bodies. Another very successful measure was the reduction of the interest paid on

**The Conversion
of the Debt,
1888.**

the national debt which was carried out by Mr. Goschen in 1888. By this scheme holders of Consols were offered either repayment of the capital at its full value or the gradual reduction of the interest from 3% to 2½% up to 1903, and to 2½% afterwards. Practically all the stockholders accepted the second alternative and the diminished interest. The country saved at once more than a million a year, and after the latter date double that amount. The new Consols of Mr. Goschen soon rose to considerably above par, and remained in that position for several years, though the political and economic troubles of the end of the reign at length depressed them far below their nominal value. Another very useful measure of the Government was an act which made free education possible in our elementary schools. By the *Naval Defence Act* of 1889 a great scheme for adding to the numbers and efficiency of the Royal Navy was successfully set to work.

5. The opposition to the Salisbury Government gradually increased in strength. The Unionist Cabinet was fiercely

**The General
Election of
1892.**

assailed by Gladstone, now over eighty years of age, and resolutely bent on carrying through his Home Rulescheme before he abandoned political life. Bye-elections showed that the ministry was no longer so fully supported by the constituencies, and its fate was sealed when parliament was dissolved and a new general election fixed for July 1892. But the contest was stubborn and the voting was very close. Home Rule was the leading question, though various cross issues confused the result. In the end the Gladstonian party obtained a small majority of about 40, though this was only on the understanding that the Irish Home Rule vote, over 80 strong, was entirely cast on its side. This was certain to be the case with the anti-Parnellite majority, but the nine Parnellites, who alone survived the general election, were bitterly hostile both to their brethren and to the English Home Rulers. Though certain to support any scheme for Home Rule, they were very likely to turn against the Gladstonians on some side issue. Still even in that case Gladstone was assured of a majority of 20.

6. Parliament met in August, and a vote of want of confidence in the Salisbury Government was carried by a majority of forty. The ministry at once re-signed, and Gladstone for a fourth time was summoned to construct a Cabinet. In this government Gladstone was First Lord of the Treasury, Sir William Harcourt Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, Mr. John Morley Irish Secretary, and Lord Rosebery Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Though it was generally believed that its small and motley majority in the House of Commons would make its life short and its acts weak, the new Government showed extraordinary discipline and cohesion, and certainly did not fall short in the number and boldness of its plans for reform. The enthusiasm of the aged Prime Minister and the clamour of his Irish supporters made a scheme of Home Rule for Ireland the first care of the Cabinet. In 1893 a bill to give effect to it was laid before Parliament. It differed widely from the bill of seven years before. There was still to be an Irish Parliament, responsible for the legislation, taxation, and executive government of that country, but it was to be a Parliament of two chambers, the upper house consisting of members elected by ratepayers with a somewhat high property qualification, while the lower house was to be returned by the existing parliamentary constituencies of Ireland, and to be of the same number as the Irish representatives who had sat hitherto in the Imperial Parliament. But besides her local Parliament, Ireland was to send 80 representatives to Westminster with votes on all questions of general Imperial policy, but without a voice on matters of purely British concern. After debates prolonged from February to September the whole measure was carried through the Commons. On some questions in committee the Government majority waxed ominously low, but the Home Rulers still kept well together, and the third reading was carried by more than thirty votes. However, the House of Lords, after a short debate, threw out the measure by the extraordinary majority of 418 to 41.

A great outcry was raised against the House of Lords, which was denounced for standing in the way of the wishes of the representatives of the people. But plain men saw that whatever might be said against the House of Lords on other grounds, public opinion was so evenly divided on this issue that it was ridiculous to claim it as in favour of either one side or the other. Under such circumstances an authority

The Gladstone
Home Rule
Ministry, 1892-
1894.

that prevented the carrying out into immediate effect of the will of a bare majority of the Commons discharged a useful function in the state. By declining to dissolve Parliament and thus to appeal to the people against the Lords, the ministry showed that it had no great confidence in the elections resulting in its favour, though it was clear that the Lords' veto would not be maintained if, as on other occasions, a decided majority had been returned to the Commons in favour of the abortive bill. Instead of this the Government determined to remain in office and go on with its programme of legislation. The Lords would be more than likely under such circumstances to reject all measures that it disliked, but it was hoped that this action of theirs would be but "filling up the cup" of grievances, and would make it possible to go to the country with a strong cry for the reform or abolition of the Upper House. Other subjects than Home Rule might perhaps move the nation more strongly to resent the action of the Lords and save the Liberals from the humiliating position of having their measures thwarted as a matter of course by an irresponsible Chamber.

7. Before this policy could be worked out grave changes in the ministry had taken place. Early in 1894 the aged

**The Rosebery
Ministry, 1894-
1895.**

Prime Minister resigned office, bitterly disappointed at the fate of his cherished measure, but unable to contend any longer against the growing infirmities of years. He lived three years longer in retirement, dying in 1898 when eight and eighty years of age. With all his limitations he stood head and shoulders above his rivals in the parliamentary arena, and none of his successors could hope to possess either his unrivalled hold over the House of Commons or his quite unique power of appealing to the imagination and emotions of a popular electorate. His retirement at once showed that there were deep cleavages of opinion within the ranks of his followers, and it was only after much murmuring that the more advanced section acquiesced in the recognition of Lord Rosebery as Gladstone's successor. The new Liberal leader was an able and wealthy peer, interested in literature and sport, and when Foreign Secretary he had showed that he was as anxious as Lord Palmerston himself to uphold British Imperial interests abroad. But Lord Rosebery, who had never sat in the Commons, and was thought careless about Home Rule and the radical programme, was unlikely to keep together the party that even the strong hand and immense prestige of Gladstone had failed entirely to

dominate. But the strict discipline that small majorities necessitate came to his aid, and for more than a year he was able to remain in office and lay many important measures before the House of Commons. Conscious perhaps that they were drafting a policy for the next election rather than framing constructive laws, the ministers brought forward a great number of bills almost at the same time. Among these was a scheme for disestablishing the Church in Wales, a Local Veto Bill which proposed to give district authorities power to close public houses within their limits, a measure for giving effect to the principle of "one man one vote," and a new Land Bill for Ireland. But none of these completely passed through all the many stages which are required for the passage of a bill through the House of Commons. The most solid achievements of the Government were therefore in administration and finance. For three years Lord Rosebery carried out successfully a foreign policy that was hardly distinguishable from that of Lord Salisbury. Mr. Arthur Acland introduced many important and beneficial changes into the Education Department, and Mr. Asquith proved a temperate and adequate Home Secretary. But the most lauded acts of the ministry were the popular budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, who by raising the death duties and extending the principle of differential taxation sought to make the very rich pay a larger share of taxation than had previously been the case. Sir William Harcourt had also been made Gladstone's successor as leader of the House of Commons. He was looked up to as the natural spokesman of that section of his party which was discontented with Lord Rosebery, with whom he was known to be on no very friendly terms. Under such troubled conditions the ministerial majorities gradually dwindled. The Irish lost interest in the ministry when it showed no over-eagerness to revive Home Rule, and the Parnellites were often openly opposed to it. Sir William Harcourt weakly withdrew from a proposal to set up a statue to so great a national hero as Cromwell, when his Irish allies opposed the idea, and the Conservatives showed eagerness to take the opportunity of putting him in a minority. At last, in June 1895, the Government was beaten in the House of Commons on the question whether a sufficient supply of cordite cartridges had been kept in stock for the army. It was a scratch division in which less than three hundred members voted, and the Government minority was only nine. But it was felt to be a good oppor-

tunity of escaping from an intolerable position, and the ministry at once resigned.

8. Lord Salisbury was now Premier for the third time. His ministry differed from that of 1886 in including a large number of the Liberals who had opposed Home Rule. Three years of opposition had bound the Liberal Unionists closer to the Conservatives, and the recent course of events had shown that their disagreement with their former Liberal associates was by no means limited to the question of Home Rule for Ireland. Lord Salisbury again combined the duties of Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister; Mr. A. J. Balfour was leader of the Commons and First Lord of the Treasury, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of the Liberal Unionists, besides Mr. Goschen who was now First Lord of the Admiralty, the Duke of Devonshire became Lord President of the Council and Mr. Chamberlain Colonial Secretary.

Parliament was at once dissolved and an election held in July. The chief cry of the Liberals was "Down with the House of Lords," but it failed to excite much enthusiasm. The voting proved more disastrous even than the elections of 1886 to the Liberal-Home Rule coalition. The Unionist Government had a majority of more than one hundred and fifty over the Radicals and Irish combined, and the Gladstonians lost eighty seats in Great Britain. Such a majority secured for the ministry the certainty of continuing in office for the six years which are the usual duration of life of a parliament, unless indeed it committed any of those gross blunders which even parliamentary majorities refuse to condone. The ministry remained in office for the rest of the Queen's reign, though some of its actions shewed that large majorities have their dangers as well as too small ones. But from the parliamentary point of view it has been largely helped by the dissensions that burst out between its opponents as soon as they retired into opposition. The Home Rule policy became discredited by the ever-growing personal factions of the Irish members, and by their avowed sympathy with our foreign enemies. Moreover, the Liberal opposition was rent by grave schisms, resulting in the withdrawal at various times of Lord Rosebery, as well as of his chief opponents Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley, from active political life. A safe and colourless leader was ultimately found in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, but the intestine feuds outlasted Victoria's lifetime.

**The Third
Salisbury
Ministry,
1895-1901.**

9. Foreign policy largely absorbed the attention of the new ministry and fiercely divided public opinion. The atrocities wrought by the Turks in Armenia revived the Eastern Question in a new and acute form. On the pretext of crushing a threatened rebellion, the Turks systematically massacred the unhappy Armenians, probably at the direction, certainly with the connivance of the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Great indignation was felt in England, and the Government was strongly urged to interfere. But no other power would give England any help, and it was thought likely that isolated action on her part would have brought about a general European war, since Russia, utterly deserting its former policy, showed extreme friendliness to Turkey, and no help was to be expected by us from Germany in the matter. A further complication arose in 1897, when the Cretan insurgents against the Sultan called in the help of their Greek brethren to help them to obtain freedom from Turkish tyranny. Again the powers were appealed to, and again their selfishness and mutual jealousies prevented any common action. In 1897 Greece indiscreetly went to war with the Turks, but her badly led armies proved quite incompetent to contend with so strong a military state. She was soon forced to sue for peace, and the powers which declined to help her forced the Turks to give her easy terms. But for this action Thessaly, which the Turks had overrun, would have been separated from the Greek kingdom. The powers also took the Cretan question into their own hands. After much delay they obtained the withdrawal of the Turkish troops, and garrisoned the island with English, French, Russian, and Italian soldiers. Ultimately Prince George of Greece was made Governor of the island, thus tardily delivered from the Turkish yoke.

The Government was much blamed for not taking a more vigorous part against the Turks. But the danger of provoking a general war, the open enmity of Russia, and the other difficulties with which England had to contend during these years, sufficiently justify its inaction. In 1895 a dispute arose between the United Kingdom and Venezuela with regard to the boundaries of British Guiana. It was a trifling matter in itself, but the United States peremptorily claimed the right of settling the matter, and public feeling in America rose

*Foreign Policy,
1895-1900.*

*The Armenian
Massacres and
the Cretan
Question.*

*The Venezuela
Boundary
Question, 1895.*

high against England, which was accused of breaking the "Monroe doctrine" of "America for the Americans." Ultimately, however, opinion cooled down, and all parties agreed to refer the matter to arbitration. Finally the mass of the disputed territory was adjudged by the arbitrators to Britain. But at one stage of the negotiations war with the United States seemed not at all impossible. To make matters worse came the troubles in South Africa, which culminated in *Jameson's Raid* (see Book XI., chapter II.). The German Emperor William II. showed signs of supporting the Transvaal, and the indignation felt in England at his action did something to quiet down feeling with regard to America. Fortunately our relations with America have been steadily improving ever since.

More serious because deeper-seated were the difficulties with France which complicated our uneasy relations with Germany and America. There was the old standing dispute about the French rights over Newfoundland. Our position in Further India was assailed by the extension of the French power in Siam. In West Africa the French conquered the upper valley of the Niger, and cut off Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the other British possessions from their natural commerce with the interior. But Egypt was still the chief source of trouble.

There the English at length resolved on the reconquest of the Sudan; and the French did all in their power to frustrate it. Despite all this, the British persisted in their purpose. Under the wise administration of Lord Cromer, the reign of law, civilisation, and economy had been fully restored in Egypt, while the *Sirdar* or Commander of the Egyptian army, Sir Herbert Kitchener, had succeeded in building up out of the Egyptian peasantry and the blacks of the Upper Nile a well-drilled, brave and efficient force. In 1896 the advance up the Nile was begun by the conquest of Dongola. The Sudan was now ruled by the *Khalifa*, the successor of the Mahdi, who for many years had threatened to overrun Egypt with the fanatic dervishes who had wrought so much mischief in the South. The tables were now turned, and in 1898 the heart of the *Khalifa's* empire was assailed. The new Egyptian troops had fought excellently, but it was now thought wise to stiffen them by a considerable British force. On 1st September the decisive battle was fought outside *Omdurman*, the new capital of the *Khalifa*, which had grown up opposite the ruined town of

The reconquest
of the Sudan,
1896-1899.

Khartum. It was an overwhelming victory for the Anglo-Egyptians. The dervish army was shattered, and the Khalifa himself fled for refuge to the desert. Next year he was followed to his lairs and slain, meeting his fate with the quiet dignity that seldom abandons the Oriental. Thus the Sudan was reconquered and Gordon's memory signally if tardily avenged. The same civilising work which had revolutionised Egypt was now begun amidst extraordinary difficulties along the Upper Nile. How well Britain thought of the Sirdar, who was made after Omdurman Lord Kitchener of Khartum, was seen by her calling on him in the hour of need to act as the chief of the staff to the great army that was assembled to put down the Boer revolt.

Shortly after the battle of Omdurman, a brave and enterprising French officer, Major Marchand, worked his way with a little force not much exceeding a hundred men from the French territories on the west coast to Fashoda, a swampy region on the Upper Nile, much higher up the stream than Khartum. It was an open attempt of France to block further British progress in the region where we had recently established our supremacy with such signal success. The French were peremptorily ordered to withdraw Marchand or face the consequences. French feeling, already much irritated by the victorious progress of England in Egypt, was violently excited, and war between the two countries seemed to be very near. But France was weakened by internal disunion, and the revelations of the Dreyfus case showed that her army was disorganised and unready. Moreover the Czar, her ally, was of no mind to provoke a great war for the sake of a swamp in Central Africa. Accordingly France gave way, and in 1899 signed a treaty by which it was admitted that the whole valley of the Nile lay within the British sphere of influence. Other subjects in dispute were also settled. The Siamese boundary question was arranged, and some delimitation of territory agreed upon in Western Africa. The result was that relations between the two powers became less strained, though it was long before the old cordiality was restored.

A fresh problem for Western statesmen was now supplied by the troubles in China. In 1894 and 1895 there was war between China and Japan. In this struggle Japan easily won the victory both by land and sea, thus revealing to the world that a new

Fashoda, 1898.

The Partition
of China.

great power had arisen in the Far East, which had assimilated so well the lessons of Western civilisation that she was now almost ready to match Europeans on their own ground. The result of the Japanese triumph was soon seen in the apparent collapse of her defeated rival. The vast Chinese Empire, once so exclusive and strong, seemed to be unable for the moment to withstand external influence, and the chief powers of East and West at once began to form schemes for profiting by her fall. Russia, France and Germany sought to obtain from the decrepit Chinese Government grants of "spheres of influence" within which their respective subjects should exercise a monopoly of trade. England has on the other hand sought to maintain the policy of the "open door," by which all China was equally thrown open to foreign commerce. At first the change of Chinese policy led to a vast extension of trade with Europe, in which England took a leading share. But complications soon followed. Russia and Germany acquired Chinese ports, whereupon Britain established herself at Wei-Hai-Wei, and extended her territory of Hong Hong to the mainland. But in 1900 the Chinese hatred of foreigners burst out afresh in the sudden attack on the European legations at Peking by rebels called *Boxers*, with the connivance, however, of the Chinese government. The legations defended themselves with great heroism, while a hastily collected international European army forced its way to Peking and effected their liberation. China was for some months at war with Europe, but at last some sort of agreement was patched up and most of the troops withdrawn. However, the Chinese problem still remains to be solved.

10. At home the government's acts included the extension in 1898 of elective County Councils to Ireland, the increase of the state grant to voluntary schools, which had complained of their inability to contend against the competition of Board Schools, and some weak attempts to organise Secondary Education. In 1897 the Empire heartily celebrated what was quaintly called the *Diamond Jubilee* or the sixtieth year of the Queen's reign. In October 1900, on the imagined conclusion of the Boer War, a new General Election gave the Government a majority of 130. On 22 Jan. 1901 the Queen died, after a reign which has happily surpassed in length all other reigns in our history. Her eldest son was proclaimed Edward VII.

Home Legislation, 1895-1901; and Death of the Queen, 1901.

CHAPTER VII.

The United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century.

1. When the century began the central government of the country rested with ministers who in a very real sense remained *Ministers of the Crown*. They have since become for most practical purposes the ministers of the people. George III's great power was based upon his influence over an unreformed Parliament, and his success in appealing from Parliament to public opinion. But the French Revolution frightened both king and landowning governing class into a close alliance to uphold the power that each possessed. Then a great tide of outside opinion rose up against both, by reason of their selfish rule, and the lack of good law or executive. It did not cease to flow until England became a democracy. The Reform Bill of 1832 crippled, though not all at once, the power of the Crown and the old aristocratic character of Parliament. When the Crown ceased again to govern, things fell back into their condition under the first two Georges. The House of Commons became again the one strong source of power. But it no longer rested on the noblemen, the squires, and a few select popular boroughs. From 1832 to 1867 it mirrored the feelings of the well-to-do middle-classes. After 1867 the better-paid workmen of the towns also came in. Since 1885 the householders in shires and boroughs alike became the arbiters of the national fate. The old landmarks moved slowly, but the Crown and House of Lords have gradually found it wise not to exercise many of their most important legal rights. They no longer strove to withstand strong currents of public opinion, but became content to act as moderating, regulating, and controlling forces. Thus the executive government has become mainly dependent on the House of Commons. Shrewd observers, like Prince Albert, feared lest parliamentary government might prove weak government. How could a State ruled by men of little special knowledge of their departments, and depending altogether on the whims of a popular chamber, hope to carry out a firm and consistent policy?

2. The possible weakness of the executive became the more dangerous as a strong tendency set in with the

present reign towards extending on every side the work of the State. It was in vain that the old school of Radicals and Political Economists maintained that every man should be left as free as possible, and that the State should make its sole business the protection of life and property. Public opinion felt they were wrong, and bitter experience showed that leaving each individual to follow his selfish instincts brought about great evils. So the State more and more busied itself with things that in our grandfathers' time it cared little for. It now sought to check the bad results of fierce competition ; to see that the workman laboured in clean, healthy, and properly-fenced workshops ; to save helpless women and children from unsuitable or excessive toil ; to procure for every child a proper education, and for every household a fitting dwelling. It strove to control the giant monopolies which the modern trading system had brought into being ; to save the poor and weak from forces too strong for them to withstand, and to sweeten men's lot by providing means and time for recreation, study, and refreshment of mind and body. Bit by bit it began to concern itself with nearly every side of the well-being of the community. The extension of the State's functions has not yet stopped.

3. The growth of the functions of the executive supplied a corrective to the dependence of the Government on the whims of a popular chamber. A great mass of new work, most of it consisting of dull and seemingly unimportant details, and much of it of a very technical and special character, now fell to the Government's share. This brought about a more elaborate organisation of the executive power. New ministers had to be appointed, but as English ministers have no special training or knowledge, and are chosen for their popular and oratorical qualities rather than for their power as administrators, they were forced into contenting themselves with the general oversight of their departments, while the details of the work were done by a paid and trained staff of permanent officials.

In old days finance had been managed by a *Lord High Treasurer* and a *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, the navy by a *Lord High Admiral*, and the legal system by a *Lord High Chancellor*. The deliberative executive body was the *Privy Council* under its *President*, and the two *Principal Secretaries of State* were the recognised go-betweens between king and the people. After

the Revolution great changes set in. The Privy Council gave way to the *Cabinet*. The great offices of State were (except the Chancellorship) put into commission. After the accession of George I. there were no more Treasurers, but several *Lords Commissioners of the Treasury*, of whom the *First Lord* was always practically *Prime Minister*, though the law of the Constitution knew as little of a *Premier* as of a *Cabinet*. This change made the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, who now generally led the Commons if the Prime Minister were in the Upper House, responsible for the annual *budget*, or statement of ways and means for the year. The *First Lord of the Admiralty* similarly replaces the Lord High Admiral, except during William of Clarence's brief and unlucky tenure of the office. The number of Secretaries of State (who must be carefully distinguished from other Secretaries of less dignity, such as the *Secretary-at-War*) was gradually increased, and, though remaining in theory equally competent to transact any business, they became in practice limited to a special department. From 1708 to 1746 there was a *Scotch Secretary*, though his office was then divided among the two other Secretaries, who had from an early period been called the *Secretaries for the Northern and Southern Departments*. In 1768 a *Third Secretary for the Colonial and American Department* was appointed, but the office was abolished in 1782 as part of the plan of Economical Reform. In 1782 a new division was made, and the Secretaries became respectively the *Home (and Colonial) Secretary* and the *Secretary for Foreign Affairs*. But in 1794 the Third Secretaryship was revived as the *Secretaryship for War and (after 1801) for the Colonies* as well. In 1854 the War Department was separated from the Colonial, and a *Fourth Secretary for the Colonies* empowered. In 1858 the annexation of India to the Crown brought about the Fifth or *Indian Secretaryship of State*, instead of the *Presidentship of the Board of Control*, established in 1784, as a sort of Indian ministry.

Other departments were also established. Charles II.'s *Council of Trade and Plantations* became, in 1695, the *Board of Trade*, according to William Paterson's plan, which was abolished by Burke in 1782, but revived in 1786 as a Committee of Council, which, under its *President*, grew steadily in independence, power, and importance. In 1834 a *Poor Law Board* was set up, which in 1871 was transferred to the *Local Government Board*, whose *President* is now generally a Cabinet minister. An *Education Department*

has grown up since 1839 from a *Committee of the Privy Council*, which in 1853 received a special organisation, and in 1856 was brought under a *Vice-President of the Council*, who shared with the *Lord President* the duties of Education Minister. At last, in 1899, an independent *Board of Education*, with a *President* and a *Secretary*, replaced this body. Thus the Privy Council became the source of some of the most important modern government departments. It has also by Commissioners the control of all Civil Service appointments.

After 1851 a *First Commissioner of Works and Buildings* was appointed. The *Lord Privy Seal* and the *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster* still continued as nominal officers with little work. Recently the *Scotch Secretaryship* has been revived, and a *Minister for Agriculture* has been established. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has gradually become mainly occupied with the ceremonial duties of the mock Court at Dublin. The responsible Irish minister is now for practical purposes the *Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant*, a post which the Home Rule movement rendered of very great importance.

Under each minister has gradually grown up a large department with extensive offices and a large staff of trained clerks and officials, with a permanent non-political Under Secretary at the head of each, who, from his long experience, cannot but exercise very great power, especially when, as often happens, his political chief has no special knowledge of the work of his department. Fortunately the English Civil Service has always been "non-political"; that is, non-party and permanent. This does a great deal to balance the evils of party government, though it has dangers of its own in the liability of officials to be enslaved by red tape and routine. Of late years entrance into the Civil Service has mostly been by open competition.

4. Local government became increasingly complicated, as new bodies were created, with great carelessness for system, to discharge new functions. In the English counties the local government remained with the *Quarter Sessions* of the Justices of the Peace, a class largely made up of the landed gentry. But in borough towns throughout the kingdom the *Corporations* exercised a local self-government, which has recently been restored to the country districts of England and Scotland by means of popularly-elected *County Councils*, and had already been extended to populous places through *Local Boards of Health*. These latter have now been superseded

by elective *Parish* and *District Councils* which have done something, but not everything, towards reducing the waste, chaos, and confusion that sprang inevitably from so many clashing jurisdictions. In Ireland the *Grand Jury*, composed of persons such as in England are Justices of the Peace and sit at Quarter Sessions, was in 1898 superseded by *County Councils* as in England.

5. The army which fought so bravely under Wellington is described by its own general as recruited from the "scum of the earth, the most drunken and worst men in every village," and was only kept in discipline by flogging and sternness during the twenty-one years of service. The officers were mostly high-spirited gentlemen, ignorant of the art of war till they came face to face with an enemy, and in time of peace idle and as lacking in discipline as their men. The army administration was a marvel of complication and inefficiency. The *Commander-in-Chief*, the mouthpiece of the king, was the military head of cavalry and infantry, but could do nothing involving expense without the leave of the *Secretary-at-War*, a member of the Government responsible for the army estimates and finances. But the artillery and engineers were not under the *Commander-in-Chief*, but under the *Board of Ordnance* and its *Master-General*, and the home militia was ruled by the *Lords-Lieutenant* of the counties, who looked to the *Home Office* for their orders. The *Commissariat* was dependent on the *Treasury*. When war broke out all military operations were controlled by the *Secretary of State for War and the Colonies*.

After the peace of 1815, the army was still looked on with some of the old jealousy, and Wellington sought to hide it away in small bodies to prevent it getting too conspicuous. The old system went on all through the long peace, and finally collapsed in the needless miseries which it brought upon our army in the Crimean war. Reforms were then introduced. A new *Secretary of State for War* was appointed to discharge the work of the former Secretary of State, the Secretary-at-War, and the Master of the Ordnance. But the dual system of the Commander-in-Chief and his office at the Horse Guards, and the War Secretary at the War Office in Pall Mall, still led to confusion, as every attempt to bring the general under the statesman was resisted as an attack on the prerogative. At last Cardwell's reforms in 1870 and 1872 laid the foundations of the present army system. The command of all forces, regulars, militia, volunteers, and all, was brought under the Commander-in-

Chief. Purchase of commissions was got rid of, and the officers were required to go through an education in military science at Sandhurst or Woolwich. The Staff was improved. The Transport and Commissariat arrangements were brought into some sort of order. Short service was introduced, seven years with the colours, and five, now six, with the reserve. Before long, the army was localised—that is, every regiment had its depot fixed in some county from which it took its name, and included, besides at least two battalions of the line, both the militia and volunteers of the district. The Minie and Enfield rifle, with its percussion lock, superseded the smooth-barrelled, flint-locked, old “Brown Bess,” which would not fire straight over 150 yards, just in time for the Crimean war, and has, since 1867, been superseded by breechloading rifles. The number of field artillery has been much increased. Pains have been taken to make the soldier’s life more attractive, and to raise the tone of the service. Flogging has been abolished altogether. The army, which in 1818 was 80,000 strong, consisted in 1899 of about 240,000 men, with a reserve of 80,000, besides 130,000 militia, and over 260,000 volunteers. The army was never larger, or better equipped than now, as was shewn by the rapidity with which in the autumn of 1899 a greater force than Britain has ever despatched from her shores was mobilised and transported to South Africa. Yet this war shewed many defects in our army system, though little was done to remedy them during the Queen’s life.

6. Greater changes have taken place in the navy, though that force was never allowed to drop so low as the army

between 1815 and 1854, and we always had a fairly efficient system of naval administration under the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. The introduction of steam brought about the first revolution. But it was very long before steam was thought a practicable way of propelling warships. In 1837 the few steamers in the royal navy were small despatch paddle-boats not intended for fighting. After 1843, a number of wooden frigates and corvettes were built with screw propellers, while “auxiliary screws” were also fitted on to many ships already built. The navies that did so little in the Crimean War were driven by steam, though they kept the general appearance, rigging, arms, and structure of the old line-of-battle ships. Their inability to fight against shore fortifications led to the building of some batteries protected by 4½-inch plates of iron, a system first taken up by the French, but

soon adopted by us. These first ironclads did good service in bombarding Kinburn. Before long iron armour was also employed for vessels of a sea-going character, and the improvements in the iron manufacture soon caused all large ships to be built with iron, and latterly with steel. Masts and sails almost disappeared along with the graceful lines of the old man-of-war. A large number of small cannon was replaced by a few very heavy and powerful guns; and ships grew bigger and the armour-plating thicker as the guns were made heavier and more powerful. Improvements in the steam-engine made it possible to move these unwieldy monsters at a speed of sixteen to twenty miles an hour. Latterly *torpedoes* have become very prominent in naval warfare, and *torpedo boats* and *torpedo boat destroyers* have been constructed that can rush through the water at over thirty miles an hour.

The condition of sailors changed with the change of the type of their ships. Much smaller crews are now required, and a large proportion of them are engineers and stokers, with nothing to do with navigation or fighting. But greater care was in many ways paid to the sailors' health and well-being, though many modern battle-ships are but sorry substitutes in comfort and convenience for the old wooden walls. The brutal system of impressment dropped out of use. The navy is now recruited from boys in training-ships, who serve from eighteen onwards for twelve years. A *Naval Reserve* from the merchant service has recently been organised. Great efforts have lately been made to enlarge and improve the navy.

7. The general condition of the Church early in the century was not very high. Many of the bishops were either noblemen, noblemen's tutors, or distinguished scholars, and some of them greedy, lazy, and indifferent to their spiritual duties. Scandalous lives and drunkenness were not rare among the parochial clergy, and even among the rest there was more decorum than hard work and zeal. Non-residence was shamefully common, and increased after an Act in 1802 gave the bishops power to give or withhold licences not to reside. The poet Crabbe describes a type of country clergyman that was still sometimes to be found :—

State of the
Church early
in the century.

“ A jovial youth who thinks his Sunday task
As much as God or man can fairly ask ;
The rest he gives to loves and labours light,
To fields the morning and to feasts the night ;
None better skilled the noisy pack to guide,
To urge their chase, to cheer them or to chide ;

A sportsman keen, he shoots through half the day,
And, skilled at whist, devotes the night to play."

Such men were often good-natured, honest, and kindly, but the clergy "as a body were secular in their habits, though above the level of general society." "The expulsion of the poor from the churches," says a famous High-Church statesman, "the mutilations of the fabrics, the horrors of the Church music, and the coldness and indifference of the lounging or stooping congregations would shock a Brahman or a Buddhist."

The Evangelicals, led by the devout *Charles Simeon* of Cambridge (1759-1836), were the most active section of the clergy. But the "Evangelical party," properly so called, was not very numerous, and as a rule not very influential throughout the country, though its teaching gave colour to many outside their own body. They were also looked on with great suspicion by orthodox old-fashioned High-Churchmen. But they did much good work, and careers like that of *Henry Martyn*, the missionary to India (1781-1821), showed that Evangelical views could inspire noble self-devotion and unselfish Christian zeal. But they worked too much by themselves to inspire the whole nation with their spirit, for they chiefly aimed at advancing spiritual life in the individual rather than the spiritual development of the Church as an institution, and their peculiar methods were not always attractive to persons of education and culture. To them is largely due the cry for the new churches, which, helped by large Government grants, now grew up in the large towns, the movement in London owing much to the zealous *Charles James Blomfield*, bishop between 1828 and 1856.

There was still much bigotry, and the Church clung hard to its old exclusive privileges, and set itself against needful reforms. The emancipation of the Roman Catholics in 1829 was not popular, though many bishops voted for it. But practically all the bishops opposed the Reform Bill, and the Church seemed so unpopular that the Reformed Parliament, it was thought, would make short work of it altogether. The strongest bishop, Phillpotts of Exeter, led a fierce opposition to all reform. The very moderate proposals of the Whigs, especially their Irish Church policy, filled many with the greatest alarm.

8. A few years before the Reform Bill, *Oriel College*, which had thrown open its Fellowships, became the centre of intellectual life in Oxford. It was also the seat of a

liberal theological movement, led by *Edward Copleston*, the Provost (Bishop of Llandaff in 1827); *Richard Whately*, a haughty and terror-inspiring logician (Archbishop of Dublin in 1831); *Renn Dickson Hampden* (Bishop of Hereford in 1847), writer of *Bampton Lectures* that few read but many denounced as unsound; and *Thomas Arnold*, the reformer of public school education, and headmaster of Rugby after 1827. But the removal of the Liberals to other work brought forward some younger Fellows of the college of a very different way of thinking. Among these were *John Keble* (1792-1866), after 1835 Vicar of Hursley in Hampshire, a shy, retiring poet, whose sweet and graceful *Christian Year* had first appeared in 1827; *Edward Bouverie Pusey* (1800-1882), Professor of Hebrew since 1828, and a man of caution, learning, wealth, and social position; and above all *John Henry Newman* (born 1801), Vicar of St. Mary's, "a thin pale man, with large lustrous eyes, and a slight bend forwards," whose "subtle and sympathetic mind was a ferment of emotion, speculation, and yearning for truth." To this little band the Church outlook seemed very gloomy, and Keble sounded the note of alarm by a sermon on *National Apostasy*, on 14th July 1833, a day ever regarded by Newman as the starting-point of the new religious movement. The little knot of like-minded men met together and resolved to "revive through the press the doctrines of the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments. The result was the *Tracts for the Times*," which were received with violent enthusiasm by a few, and by a howl of reprobation by the many. But the movement spread, connecting itself with the leaders of the old High Church party, which had always had a considerable following among the clergy, and was then upheld by *Hugh James Rose*, Principal of King's College, London, between 1836 and 1839, *Walter Farquhar Hook*, Vicar of Leeds between 1837 and 1859, and *Henry Phillpotts*, Bishop of Exeter between 1831 and 1869. By the end of 1837 the High Church revival had become general. But the outcry against the Tracts grew until it came to a head in the storm excited by *Tract Ninety*, in which Newman sought to prove that the loose language of the Thirty-Nine Articles made it possible for English Churchmen to hold some form of the mediæval doctrines which they seem specially to condemn. The crisis soon came. The Tracts were stopped, and Newman withdrew from active teaching. In 1843 Pusey was sus-

The Tractarian Movement, 1833-45.

pended for advocating extreme views bearing on the doctrine of the Real Presence in a sermon. William George Ward was deprived of his degree for going even beyond the doctrine of Tract XC. in his *Ideal of a Christian Church*. But some of the leaders had gone so far that they began to doubt whether the Church of England standpoint had any logical basis. At last in 1845 Newman became a convert to the Roman Church, and was followed by Ward and many others of his ablest and most enthusiastic disciples.

9. The Tractarian movement proper ends with the secession of its greatest genius, but the mass of the party stood firm under the quiet and diplomatic leadership of Dr. Pusey, from whom they were often called Puseyites, though they chose to style themselves the *Catholic* school. The impulse which the Tractarians gave lived on, and, becoming more practical and less intellectual, brought about a very general revival of Church life and feeling. One further result was a fresh study of mediæval art and practices which led up to the revival of the symbolical

High Churchmen. ritual of the middle ages, and gave the extreme following the nickname of *Ritualists*, though the great teachers laid all the stress on dogma, and cared little for mere outward forms. Despite much opposition and great outcries of No Popery, the noble lives and devotion of many of the Ritualist leaders spread their teaching among the people, and procured for them a practical toleration, though they have sometimes gone to lengths not easy to reconcile with the Church's teaching. Yet the attempts to put them down have all failed, and none more signally than Disraeli's Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. The *Bennett judgment* of the Court of Arches in 1870 definitely permitted the teaching of the most distinctive doctrine of the new High Churchmen. Meanwhile the Evangelical or Low Church party continued to flourish, though it began to show signs of losing its power of spreading more widely. In 1850 the *Gorham judgment* had given the same toleration to its dogmatic teaching as the Bennett judgment afterwards did to that of its rivals. A new school of Liberal or Latitudinarian Churchmanship revived the spirit of Tillotson and Burnet. The opinions of Whately were too hard and logical to have much influence outside universities, but the influence of the poet and thinker, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, inspired men of active and enthusiastic temperament, like *Frederick Denison Maurice* (1805-1872) and *Frederick*

Ritualists.
Evangelicals.

Robertson of Brighton (1816-1853), to build up a theology to suit the needs of modern thought, and disciples like *Charles Kingsley* (1819-1875), Rector of Eversley, ^{Broad Church-}novelist, poet, clergyman, and social reformer, ^{men.} to carry their teachings into practice. They were looked upon with great suspicion by lovers of the old ways, and in 1853 Maurice was unjustly turned out of his professorship at King's College, London. But gradually they won a position for themselves, and all the outcry against the more outspoken advocacy of new ways by some of the seven writers of a book called *Essays and Reviews*, published in 1861, did not secure the conviction for heresy of *Dr. Rowland Williams*, Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, before the Privy Council. So each of the Church parties got some sort of legal recognition as well as practical toleration. Some evil has resulted from the stronger growth of party cries, but also a good deal of activity and energy, which has not altogether limited itself to sectional channels.

10. The increased activity and usefulness of the Church has been helped forward by all parties, and by men who have avoided party altogether. Organisation ^{Revival of} has been improved, and vast sums spent on ^{Church life.} building new churches and repairing old ones. Within the last fifty years more than 3000 new parishes have been created, mostly under *Peel's Church Building Acts*. The *Ecclesiastical Commission*, set up in 1836, has done a great deal towards the better management and more equal distribution of the Church estates. Nine new sees—Ripon, Manchester, St. Albans, Truro, Newcastle, Liverpool, Southwell, Wakefield, and Bristol—have been established; many suffragans have been consecrated, and a whole hierarchy of bishops of the flourishing series of Colonial churches set on foot, so that in 1878 ninety-five Anglican prelates met together in a *Pan-Anglican Synod*, and a still larger number in 1888.

In 1854 *Convocation* was again allowed to sit to transact business, an act mainly procured through the zeal, activity, and tact of *Samuel Wilberforce* (1805-1873), Bishop of Oxford and afterwards of Winchester, the son of William Wilberforce, and the leading bishop of his time. But as Convocation is not a very representative body, voluntary *Congresses* and *Councils* have been gathered together to get at Church opinion more fully. Meanwhile the Church has not neglected its more definite spiritual work, and the tone and character of public worship have been largely raised.

Something has been accomplished towards bringing the Church into harmony with the growth of democratic feeling in the nation, though much still remains to be done. All through the century the Established Church has been, little by little, losing its old invidious supremacy, and has had to justify itself by its work. It has so far succeeded that it is much better liked and does much more work than in the days of the Reform Bill. Even in districts like Wales and Cornwall, where the Church was once at a low ebb, its prospects are brightening. In the towns its position is incomparably stronger.

11. The nineteenth century has gradually witnessed not only the sweeping away of the large number of odious disabilities once imposed upon Nonconformity, **The Protestant Nonconformists.** but a distinct growth of the spirit of *toleration*, which is quite a different thing. In 1828 and 1829 the worst of the old restrictions were removed. In 1836 Dissenters were allowed to be married in their own chapels or before a registrar, and to record the births of their children in a less invidious way than taking them to church to be baptized. In 1858 Jews were admitted to sit in Parliament. In 1868 Gladstone abolished compulsory Church Rates. In 1871 religious tests were got rid of at Oxford and Cambridge. In 1880 burials were allowed in parish churchyards "with any Christian and orderly religious service."

Nonconformist bodies have grown in numbers, wealth, influence, and organisation. The Wesleyans have gradually drifted from their old half-way position into the place of a new Dissenting Church, and several distinct organisations have broken off from the parent connexion, of which perhaps the most important are the *Primitive Methodists*, a sect established in 1801 by Hugh Bourne, and very strong among certain sections of the agricultural poor. The tendency to further organisation has brought together into a *Congregational Union* and a *Baptist Union* bodies of Christians whose first principle was that each individual church was a self-governing independent community. Of late years a zealous but strange body called the *Salvation Army* has won for itself great influence. A great change of feeling has led to the conversion of the mass of Nonconformists to what is called the *Voluntary Principle*, and to the belief that the State should have nothing to do with religion. The *Irish Church Act* of 1869 has been their greatest victory.

12. Another feature of the century has been the great growth of the Roman Catholic Church in England, beginning with the repeal of the old repressive laws against it, and helped forward by the secession of Newman (Cardinal in 1879) and so many of his followers, the longing of many quiet souls to find rest from a troubled and sceptical age in the bosom of an infallible Church, and by the large migrations of Irish to the English and Scotch great towns. In 1850 a regular hierarchy of twelve bishops, with new titles taken from great towns, under the Archbishop of Westminster, was set up, which, though much resented by Protestants at the time as a *Papal Aggression*, was not put down by Russell's abortive *Ecclesiastical Titles Bill*. A similar territorial episcopate has since been introduced among the Roman Catholics of Scotland.

13. In Scotland there grew up early in the century the same zeal for ecclesiastical independence which marked the High Church revival in England. The Evangelical party gradually won back a majority in the General Assembly under the leadership of *Dr. Thomas Chalmers* (1780-1847), a great preacher, pastor, and teacher, and a man, says Carlyle, "of great modesty, much natural dignity, ingenuity, honesty, and affection, as well as sound intellect and imagination, very eminent vivacity, and bursts of genuine fun." In 1834 the Evangelicals carried in the Assembly the *Veto Act*, which gave the male heads of families the right of refusing the appointments of ministers made by the patrons. This revived the old controversies which had brought about several schisms in the preceding century. Patrons denied the legality of the Veto Act, and in 1838 the Court of Session in the *Auchterarder Case* decided in their favour. A great contest now broke out between Church and State. The Assembly tried to coerce the *Presbytery of Strathbogie* which had obeyed the law-courts and disobeyed the Church authority, and much bitter feeling was stirred up. The Peel ministry was ignorant or careless, and did little to help over the difficulty. At last the *Ten Years' Conflict* ended on 18th May 1843, by 470 ministers, headed by Chalmers, giving up kirk, manse, teinds, and glebe, and forming a *Free Church*, where their spiritual liberties were not controlled by State compromises or secular laws. A large number of the congregations followed them, and in some parts, particularly in the Highlands, the Estab-

The Roman Catholics.

The Scotch Church.

The Ten Years' Conflict, 1834-43.

Foundation of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843.

lished Churches remained almost deserted, and to this day the Church of Scotland, though of late years much strengthened, has ceased to contain the majority of the population. The withdrawal of the hottest champions of seventeenth-century orthodoxy gave more room for the liberal movement in the Church, which in itself became a fresh ground of difference. In 1874 the Patronage Act of 1712 was repealed, but it was too late to be of much use, and Scottish Presbyterianism remains split up into different camps. Some of the older secessions were in 1847 joined together to form the *United Presbyterian Church*, mostly distinguished from the Free Church by its upholding as a theory the "*Voluntary Principle*."

**The United
Presbyterians
1847.**

But of late years a strong party within the Free Church has given up the ideals of the Covenanters, and has declared for disestablishment. As in England, the growth of religious differences was in some ways compensated by more earnest rivalry in spiritual work.

14. In the early years of the nineteenth century the chief English industries were somewhat languishing, yet between 1801 and 1831 the manufacturing population increased by over thirty per cent. The improvement sprang from the gradual bringing in of Free Trade by Huskisson and Peel. Between 1837 and 1887 the population of the United Kingdom has run up from 25,600,000 to 37,000,000, and that despite the large falling-off in Ireland, and the stationary or declining numbers of the purely agricultural districts. Wealth has grown ever more rapidly. The coal trade has increased fourfold, and the iron trade has found new centres at Barrow and Middlesbrough, and increased nearly eightfold. The cotton, woollen, and linen trades have doubled, and the value of the exports mounted up from £45,000,000 to £270,000,000. The national revenue, £52,000,000 in 1816, was about £60,000,000 in 1837, in 1887 about £90,000,000, and in 1898 over £106,000,000. Prices fell as goods could be made more easily, and raw materials could be bought in the cheaper markets, and this benefited every one. Artisans and professional men earned better salaries, and the income-tax returns showed a steady increase in the number of people comfortably well off. Owing to increase of railways, the call for greater food-supplies to the towns, and the high price of meat, rents rose, and despite the repeal of the Corn Laws, farmers and landlords continued as prosperous as the manufacturer and tradesman. But of recent times the growth of foreign competition, in meat

**Material
growth.**

as well as corn, has cut down the profits of English agriculture, and made corn-growing one of the least profitable forms of employment, while the great national States that have grown up on the Continent are proving much more dangerous rivals to England's manufactures than the smaller and less organised communities that preceded them. Yet the volume of British trade does not fall off, and wages have risen slowly, though prices decline. Manufacturers no longer make colossal fortunes so quickly, and capitalists have to be contented with a smaller percentage of interest, and traders with a diminished margin of profit. Each change brings about great disturbances and difficulties, but as things settle down it seems likely that though England can never expect to get back the position she once bade fair to obtain, as the one great manufacturing and commercial nation in the world, she has no reason to fear, for being every whit as well situated as her competitors, she is likely to retain a very large share of the world's business.

15. There is nothing quite so striking in the annals of nineteenth century inventions as the story of the great discoveries which made the Industrial Revolution possible, yet all sorts of machinery became elaborated Inventions. with a subtlety, detail, and scientific knowledge to which the eighteenth-century inventors were strangers, and man's control over matter wonderfully increased. Enormous results flowed from discoveries like the *Bessemer process* for making cheap steel. New machines and methods made the increased volume of trade possible, yet so long as inland communications did not improve, it was hard for very rapid progress to be made. The canals became choked with traffic, and the canal companies, having a monopoly, raised their rates, and handled their traffic as slowly as they chose. The horse-tramways were rare outside the colliery districts, and road transit was too expensive.

16. Steam had long been thought of as a means of locomotion, but the only steam locomotives attempted had proved little better than toys. At last, in 1802, Steamboats. *William Symington* navigated a steam tug-boat on the Forth and Clyde Canal. In 1807 the American *Fulton* first made steamers a commercial success on the Hudson River, and in 1819 a steamboat, the *Savannah*, safely crossed the Atlantic, though it was not for nearly a generation after that improvements in engines, and the utilisation of the screw, made steam navigation possible for large ocean-going vessels. The same process of improve-

ment has gone on with little interruption ever since, and steam navigation has now become so cheap that steamers bid fair to almost supersede sailing-ships.

17. In 1769 a Frenchman named Cugnot built a locomotive engine for ordinary roads. In 1802 *Richard Trevithick*, a Cornish mining captain, took out a patent for a locomotive, and in 1803 an engine of his was used at Penydarren, near Merthyr. In 1812 Blenkinsop, near Leeds, and Blackett at Wylam, near Newcastle, regularly used steam locomotives to take down coals from the pit mouth; and in 1814 rough, shrewd *George Stephenson* (1781-1848), a Wylam fireman's son, ran his first engine on the Killingworth Colliery Railway, with such success that in 1820 he started an engine factory at Newcastle. In 1825 the *Stockton and Darlington Railway* was opened, largely through the efforts of the Quaker Edward Pease, and one of Stephenson's engines drew a train of thirty-eight wagons at a rate of about six miles an hour, though for some years horses were used more than locomotives, the one passenger coach, the *Experiment*, being always drawn by a horse. Meanwhile a new railway was constructed from *Liverpool to Manchester*, and the success of Stephenson's engine the *Rocket* led to the introduction of locomotives as the ordinary means of working it. In 1830 the opening of the railway was, as we have seen, made memorable by Huskisson's tragic death. But lovers of old ways looked askance on the new and mysterious mode of motion, and the most that was expected from it was stirring up the canal companies by competition, passenger transport being hardly thought of. New railways gradually grew up. In 1836 the period of experiment came to an end, and railway construction on a large scale began. In 1839 *Robert Stephenson* (the son of George) built the London and Birmingham line, on which the first train ran at twenty miles an hour. This line was soon connected with the Liverpool and Manchester by the Grand Junction Railway. *Isambard K. Brunel* laid down the Great Western. But there were still grave doubts as to the respective merits of locomotives, stationary engines working a cable, and the atmospheric system, and the *Battle of the gauges* was not over until 1845, when the amalgamation of the broad gauge (7 foot) Bristol and Gloucester line with the narrow gauge (4 feet 8½ inches) Midland, led to the general adoption of the cheaper and easier width, and left the Great Western, which alone upheld the broad gauge, out in the cold.

In 1844 came the *Railway Mania*, when over 8000 miles of line were sanctioned in three years, and wide excitement and reckless speculation in railway shares produced a long depression and ruined many honest people, while rogues grew fat from ill-gotten gain, though some speculators, like George Hudson, the Railway King, lost their fortune as rapidly as they had won it. Meanwhile a series of giant private monopolies got the control of the communications into their own hands, for it was soon found impossible to regard a railway as a high-road on which anybody might run if he paid the tolls, and the State shrank from the risk and cost of buying up the companies. Bit by bit they were brought under some sort of State control, the first *Railway Commission* being constituted in 1846. Meanwhile the companies grew stronger by amalgamation, while competition gradually increased the speed of trains, and gave greater facilities to the humbler traveller.

18. In 1816 Francis Ronalds of Hammersmith invented the electric telegraph, and offered it to the Admiralty in vain. And now in 1837 *Cooke and Wheatstone* took out their patent for this invention, and what had hitherto been a scientific experiment became a practical fact. Yet for many years telegraphs were but little used. It was not till 1843 that the first public telegraph office was opened. But in 1857 an effort was made to lay a *submarine cable* between England and America, though it was not until 1866 that it was successful. In 1870 the British telegraphs were bought up by the State, and, with the cheapening of the tariff and the increase of public facilities, became for the first time widely and generally used. About 1880 the *telephone* became utilised. But whatever may be the future, the age of steam is not yet over, and the age of electricity is still to come. The result of all the great inventions was that it became infinitely easier and cheaper to spread information, communicate directions, and get about; less expensive to move heavy goods and machines, and harder to keep up the old barriers which cut off place from place. Markets became wider, travel infinitely extended; though whether these inventions have tended to advance human happiness must long be an unsettled question.

19. Early in the century the terrible cruelties and evils of the early Factory system still went on unheeded, while the agricultural labourer was a helpless and spiritless serf. The worst horrors of the apprenticeship system had been redressed by the elder Peel

Telegraphs.

Condition of
the People.

in 1802, but the great mills of the north were still largely worked by miserable child labourers, "confined in close and heated rooms, stunned with the roar of revolving wheels, poisoned with the noxious effluvia of grease and gas, until turned out, weary, exhausted, and half naked, to the cold air, to creep shivering to their beds, from which a relay of their young fellow-workers had just risen." Still worse horrors were wrought in coal-mines, where small children laboured for weary hours in darkness and solitude on dry bread. Even the able-bodied labourer had a wretched time. Between 1810 and 1845 the workmen in the midland hosiery trade hardly earned seven shillings a week when they could get employment, and a widespread practice grew up of stilling the cravings of hunger by doses of opium. Still worse was the chronic distress of the ill-clad and ill-fed hand-loom weavers. Skilled workmen in constant work found bare life a hard struggle. Even the *New Poor Law* of 1834, which marks the beginning of the improvement of the agricultural poor, at first brought with it some new evils of its own. Drunkenness, brutality, immorality, and ignorance were the natural fruits of such a system.

20. Such horrors drove *Robert Owen*, a saddler's son from Newtown in Montgomeryshire, who, when still a shy awkward youth, had shown such business gifts as would surely have led him to fortune, to turn his warm imagination, keen sympathy, and deep enthusiasm from the pursuit of greater wealth to improving the condition of the workers, and to brilliant schemes for the regeneration of society. The great cotton mills at New Lanark on the Clyde, of which he became manager and part proprietor by his marriage in 1799, became under his care the wonder of philanthropists, with their night schools, infant schools, and improved workmen's dwellings. He gave the first impulse to *Factory Legislation*, and was the founder of English *Co-operation*. But the times were dark, and he gradually came to believe that "the whole fabric of society was based on a fundamental error." About 1820 he started a wild scheme of *Socialism*, believing that salvation would only come if men lived together in large square villages and had all things in common. For a time he exerted enormous influence, the Chartists in particular owing much to his teaching. But his Socialism turned out a failure, and his fantastic *Labour Exchange* was quite unworkable. His fierce hostility to Christianity lost him some of his best fellow-workers, and,

Robert Owen,
1771-1858.

**Socialism and
Co-operation.**

as things grew better, he ceased to be a power in the land, though he had given the impulse to some of the greatest movements of the century. Of recent years new forms of Socialism have again made themselves prominent.

21. About 1830 a systematic effort was made to put an end to the cruelties that daily went on in a large number of factories. A little knot of Leeds manufacturers, headed by *Richard Oastler*, the "Factory King," a generous, impulsive, and undisciplined enthusiast, and *Michael Sadler*, a Leeds banker, of great eloquence and untiring zeal, took up the movement. Early in 1832 Sadler brought forward in Parliament a *Ten Hours Bill*, limiting the labour of children and women in factories to ten hours a day. But the Reform agitation caused the new movement to be forgotten, and the newly enfranchised middle classes of Leeds refused to return Sadler, who, like most of the leaders in the factory agitation, was a strong Tory, to the reformed Parliament. *Lord Ashley*, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, a young man of high character, good ability, and rigid Evangelical views, now became the spokesman of the factory hands in the House of Commons. For fifteen years the agitation was kept up, though both Whigs and Tories looked on it with indifference or dislike, shelving the main questions by inadequate though useful measures such as *Lord Althorp's Factory Act* of 1833, and *Peel's Factory Act* of 1844, which limited "children's" (those between nine and thirteen years of age) labour to six and a half hours, and "young persons'" (between thirteen and eighteen) to twelve hours a day. But Lord Ashley and his friends redoubled their efforts. Books like Carlyle's *Chartism* (1839), Disraeli's *Sybil* (1845), and Kingsley's *Alton Locke* (1850), showed that the public conscience was aroused, despite the capitalist prejudices of Peel, the hostility of the Political Economists, who talked of *laissez faire* and the rights of property, and the selfish and unscrupulous opposition of some of the millowners, led by John Bright and by Richard Cobden. In 1842 women and children were altogether prevented from working in mines, and in 1847 John Fielden, member for Oldham, at last carried the *Ten Hours Bill*, though the piecemeal methods of English law-making still required many supplemental statutes before women and children were properly protected in the chief industries, and there is still something to be done in this direction. At last in 1878 Cross's *Factories and Workshops Act* consolidated this most important branch of English law. No direct effort

was made to protect grown men, who were thought able to see for themselves, but every mill-hand profited by the wholesome workshops and properly fenced machinery which were now compulsory.

22. When the century began iniquitous laws still prohibited the combination of workmen. In 1824 the *Combination Laws* were repealed, but next year fresh Acts imposed new restrictions, and for many years the *Conspiracy Laws* were wrested to put down or punish trade combinations, while six labourers who had pledged each other to mutual support in their efforts to better their condition were sentenced to transportation for administering unlawful oaths. Political Economists argued that as wages were fixed by "natural laws" it was quite useless for workmen to attempt by combination to raise their rates of payment, and self-interest and fear combined to look upon workmen's societies with disfavour. Trades' Unions, thus under the ban of the law and society, got many of the worst characteristics of secret associations. They were often headed by ignorant, violent, and unreasonable men, and the *strikes* which, under their auspices, became more important movements were sometimes marked by outrage and brutality, and met by unscrupulous repression, which led to bitter feelings between class and class. But bit by bit things got better. Despite the coldness of the law, there was no positive reason to prevent the stronger trades from forming strong unions, and in 1851 the *Amalgamated Engineers' Society*, established by the consolidation of all the scattered branches of a great trade into one union, set a new example of further combination which was soon extensively followed. In 1866 gross outrages at *Sheffield* were brought home to local unionists, and especially to the Saw-grinders' Union and a ruffian named Broadhead. This led to a great outcry, but the searching investigations which followed showed that such misdeeds were the exceptions and not the rule, and led to a series of Acts beginning in 1871, which fully protected and recognised legitimate trade societies. By teaching self-help, and by increasing the workmen's power, and also by acting as benefit societies on a large scale, they have done much to raise the condition of the more skilled labourers. In 1872 Joseph Arch established a Union of the poor and dependent agricultural labourers. The extension of Unionism to the coarse unskilled labour of the towns has had a remarkable exemplification in the successful and orderly strike of

the London dock labourers in 1889. But as combination grows more perfect, strikes and locks-out have become less violent, though unhappily they are still frequent among many branches of trade. Moreover, *Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation*, such as that started by Mundella in 1860 at Nottingham, and self-acting *Sliding-Scales* of wages have, though not without difficulties of their own, diminished the necessity of recourse to open warfare.

23. Constant and beneficent State intervention, the growth of self-respect and self-help among the workers, and a better feeling between class and class, have combined to improve the condition of the mass of the nation. The change for the better began perceptibly about 1850. Workmen are now better fed, better housed, better clothed, and better paid. They work shorter hours and have better means of occupying their leisure than the brutal drunkenness and degrading pastimes of a hundred years ago. They are educated practically at the State expense, and are in some ways better off than the less organised and heterogeneous but higher-paid lower middle classes. The future must reside with those to whom the Constitution gives an almost absolute command of the ballot-box. The least satisfactory side of modern life is found in the slums of the large towns, though even here an ever-active philanthropy is at work, and things are better than they were, if only because the public conscience is more alive to them. But there is far too much dulness, monotony, and lowness of aim among those comfortably off, and too much abject misery and want among large sections of the community, to give us any room to look on nineteenth century progress with undue or self-complacent satisfaction.

24. Neglect of the first principles of art and passion for sham and pretence had brought architecture to a low ebb in 1800. A somewhat incongruous mimicry of *Greek architecture* was then fashionable for public buildings, which is to be seen in many churches built after 1820, and at its best in the costly and imposing New St. Pancras. But the Romantic and Tractarian attraction for the Middle Ages now brought about a *Gothic Revival*, which began in imitation of *Perpendicular English Gothic*, and gradually worked back through the *Decorated* to the *Early English* and *Romanesque* styles. The best illustration of the earlier steps of this revival are to be seen in the

Progress and
its limits,
1850-1901.

Architecture.

new Houses of Parliament built by Sir Charles Barry between 1840-52, and in the chapels of the Brothers Pugin, by far the best trained and most artistic of the leaders of the Mediævalists. The best result of this movement was the careful and loving study of mediæval monuments both at home and abroad, especially in Italy and North France, and the influence of John Ruskin was especially powerful in bringing this about. The practical result was not at first a very happy one; mock-Gothic buildings of every style and date sprang up all over England. Later on things got better, though something was still wanting. The numerous churches of the fashionable Sir Gilbert Scott often shew heaviness and want of grace, and always a lack of originality. Street's new *Law Courts* in the Strand, though composed with more artistic feeling, are ill designed and ill adapted for their purpose. A higher standard has been attained in Pearson's Truro Cathedral and Bodley's Memorial Chapel, while the work and influence of such a designer as Burgess show the capabilities of this school. Unluckily zeal for uniformity, love of prettiness, and conventional propriety have led to many so-called Restorations of old buildings, which have in too many cases wiped out the historical record, on the pretence of removing incongruities and differences, and providing modern accommodation. The practical destruction of many an historical church is the worst result of the Gothic Revival.

Later than the taste for Gothic came the study of *Renaissance architecture*, and it has been taken up by several men of ability, as Jackson's *New Schools* at Oxford may suffice to show. Hitherto buildings have been erected indiscriminately in all sorts of ways, and nowhere with worse results than in our houses. But the "battle of the styles" must cease as soon as a wholesome, natural, home-bred school of architecture arises, and it seems as if in the study of English domestic architecture of the eighteenth century, by such men as Norman Shaw, there was a possibility of a real revival of sound principles and good practical work, which will make modern houses less hideous and dull than those which were built by the "fashionable" architects of the first half of the century. The arts of design so intimately bound up with architecture have found many able exponents in England, and, as in the great days of Italian art, English painters and sculptors have devoted much attention to them. This can be seen in the beautiful art-work of William Morris, and the complete and healthy change of taste which has

since 1851 been felt in every branch of art-manufacture, notably furniture, glass, and fabric patterns.

25. In painting the century opened in England with but small promise of the excellence to come. Reynolds and Gainsborough were succeeded by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1765-1830), whose polished portraits satisfied the taste of his day. The finer and truer works of Sir Martin Shea, and the Scottish President Raeburn were however admired. But in the noble and splendid Painting. colourist John Constable (1776-1837) England produced a master the effect of whose work at home and abroad has been second to none in this century. He had affinities with the fanciful and delicate Norwich School, of whom the chief figure was Old Crome (1768-1821). Popularity and high prices, however, followed rather Sir David Wilkie and the Scottish School, who, more or less happily inspired by the Dutch *genre* painters, attempted domestic subjects with considerable success. But art training was absurdly inadequate, and the tragic failure of that true critic and draughtsman Benjamin Haydon (1786-1840), no less than the passing success of the "cloyed richness and muddled forms" of William Etty (1787-1849), revealed the miserable state of public taste.

A new and better era began with the water-colour sketches of Girtin, and the marvellous romantic landscapes painted by the gifted and original Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851), whose genius was signally proclaimed in 1845 by the eloquence and fancy of John Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. Great in oils, Turner was unsurpassed in water-colours, and under his influence there grew up a remarkable school of British landscape painters in the latter medium.

A further step in advance was made when, partly under the spell of the romantic mediæval revival, partly in obedience to a deep hatred of the conventionality and shams of English figure-painting, a knot of young students, in 1848, amongst whom Ford Madox Brown, Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82), Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais, and William Bell Scott were the most prominent, formed the *Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, and published in 1849 the *Germ* as the organ of their endeavours "to encourage and enforce an entire adherence to the simplicity of nature." From these men's efforts sprang a lasting improvement in English art, which was felt far beyond the narrow limits and original conceptions of the actual brotherhood, and is found in

modern work inspired by very different ideals. In 1824 the *National Gallery* was founded, and in 1838 its present ugly, but convenient, building in Trafalgar Square was opened. Art teaching became more real and systematic, and finally a critic here and there was bold and wise enough to follow the courses laid down by John Ruskin, which have become the commonplaces of the present generation. The result was a raised level of technical skill and effort, and British artists of the present day (though curiously and unwisely neglecting landscape, in which their predecessors had surpassed all foreign schools) have at least taken the trouble to learn their profession. Of late years the influence of the French *Impressionists* has been great, and may be greater. Nor can one omit to note the effect upon English artists of the exquisite art of Japan, perhaps the only country in the world where fine art is now natural, and enjoyed by the whole people.

26. Nothing could be more pitiful than British sculpture at the beginning of the century. After the death of John Flaxman, a draughtsman of genius, the cold and somewhat mannered work of Sir Francis Chantrey (1781-1841) and the foreign work of John Gibson (1790-1866), a Welshman who lived in Rome, were its chief representatives.

Sculpture. What with lack of opportunity, and poor training, there has been no sculptor of note among us, with the singular exception of that ill-treated, but vigorous, genius Alfred Stevens, till the advent of the truthful and beautiful work of Gilbert, and other young men, who have learned the best lessons of modern French sculpture.

In *black and white* work the arts of steel-engraving and mezzo-tint have gone out of fashion, though the recent revival of etching, neglected since the death of George Cruikshank (1792-1878), and "Phiz" (Hablot K. Browne) is noteworthy. The woodcuts of Stothard, Harvey, Birket Foster, and Linton, and the designs for wood drawn by Millais, John Leech, Frederick Walker, Dante Rossetti, Noel Paton, David Scott, Paul Grey, and Charles Keene, are among the most remarkable and beautiful works of the century. Nor are their successors to seek; the art of woodcut illustration, largely carried out by young artists in periodicals, has attained a decidedly high level.

27. In music, the most progressive art in modern times, there has been a remarkable development, mostly due to a higher level of musical culture, a more general sense of

the seriousness and high aims of the art, and a greater taste and appreciation of the great German masters. The results are widely seen in the almost universal introduction of organs and musical services Music. into parish churches and even Nonconformist chapels, and of the pianoforte into the home. The diffusion of taste throughout the land has largely been due to the local *Festivals*, which have been often chosen for producing great works of famous writers, Norwich bringing out Spohr, and Birmingham Mendelssohn. Choral societies are now found in every town, and, in Wales and Yorkshire in almost every village, and have vied with societies in great centres, like the old *Sacred Harmonic Society*, in spreading sound knowledge and taste. Orchestral music has made great strides, largely furthered by the *London Philharmonic Society*. Popular concerts of classical music have become numerous and well attended; and efficient centres of musical education have been established, such as the *Royal Academy of Music* and the recent *Royal College of Music*. Prince Albert in his day did a great deal for good music. From about 1830 to 1845 Spohr was the most attractive composer. Mendelssohn then became supreme for a long period, but of late years taste has become more catholic.

There has been a great growth of English musical composition. Early in the century glees and madrigals of a purely English sort flourished, the leading writers including Calcott, Attwood, Bishop, and Pearsall. The old schools of Church music revived and were developed. Foremost among church composers and organists were the two Wesleys, nephew and grandnephew of the founder of Methodism. The so-called *English Opera* of Bishop, Balfe, and Wallace is at least remembered by its pretty songs, and has been succeeded by an original species of extravaganza opera, invented by Gilbert and his colleague Arthur Sullivan. A severer style of composition dates from the influence of Sir William Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875), the founder of the *Bach Society*. Within the last fifteen years a flourishing school of writers, headed by Mackenzie, Parry, and Stanford, has grown up, strongly influenced by Wagner and Brahms. *Italian Opera*, after lingering long as a fashionable amusement, has shown during recent years signs of a decided revival in England, while the new musical dramas of Wagner have at last begun to gain a popular foothold.

28. Practical extinction has fallen upon the poetic drama, while plays, though in less literary shapes, have become the most popular of amusements. The English school of acting was at a high pitch at the beginning of the century when the classic acting of Mrs. Siddons, and the strange poetic genius of Kean, the greatest actor since Garrick, possibly since Burbage, ennobled our stage. The last relics of these great times lingered in the hearty and vigorous comedy of Robson, and the pantomimic talent of Joseph Grimaldi. Our own times have seen the revival of comedy in new shapes, and the Shaksperian revivals of Macready, Fechter, Charles Kemble, and Henry Irving. The influence of the French stage, which has dominated Europe by the genius of its playwrights and the talent of its actors, has greatly influenced English acting for good, though its influence on English dramatic composition has led to more doubtful results. The melodrama of modern life, and the comedy of the day, have acquired and held popular sympathy. The multiplication of theatres and music-halls has been a striking feature of the last thirty years.

29. At the same time that indoor amusements have become more numerous, and, on the whole, more healthy, there has been an enormous development of outdoor amusements. *Cricket*, popular in a rude form in the eighteenth century, became more scientific and more universal in the early years of the present, when round-hand bowling, at first denounced as unfair, began to be introduced. *Rowing* as a pastime dates from the same period, the first College races at Oxford dating from 1815, but the racing-boats of the period were clumsy and unwieldy until about 1844 the *outrigger* was perfected by Henry Clasper, while twenty years later the *sliding-seat* added to the oarsman's power. About 1840 *Athletic Sports* came into vogue. About 1860 the old game of *Football* was taken up in new forms, and has ever since become increasingly attractive. With the spread of such healthy and pure forms of recreation men began bit by bit to turn with disgust from the brutal, demoralising, and cruel pastimes of a previous age, such as cock-fighting and bull-baiting.

30. No aspect of nineteenth century development is more important than the growth of *Natural Science*. Englishmen were among the foremost in finding out those marvellous laws of nature which have so greatly altered our whole way

of looking at the universe, and in their applications to the practical arts have so immensely increased man's command over matter. The investigations of Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), preacher, politician, and **Natural Science.** man of science, and Henry Cavendish (1731-1810) laid the foundations of modern *Chemistry*, and the Quaker John Dalton's (1766-1844) Atomic Theory gave workers an hypothesis from which they could advance still further. Sir Humphry Davy (1778-1829) made a great step in advance by finding out the metallic basis of the alkalis. In our own times larger and more fruitful generalisations, and a more exquisite and minute analysis have again revolutionised the science. The American journalist and politician Benjamin Franklin laid the basis of *Electricity* long before he became the strenuous advocate of American freedom. Davy worked out this science with almost as much success as chemistry, and found a great successor in Michael Faraday (1791-1867). Joule's discovery of the mechanical equivalent of heat was of the utmost importance. In more recent times the application of *Mathematics* to *Physics* by men like James Clerk Maxwell and William Thomson, Lord Kelvin, has led to wonderful advances. Sir William Herschel (1738-1822), a Hanoverian musician, who turned astronomer, discovered in 1781 the planet Uranus, and his son Sir John (1792-1871) carried out further at the Cape the researches begun by his father at Slough. The discovery of Neptune by Adams, when still a Cambridge undergraduate (1845), is the greatest triumph of mathematical *Astronomy*. The invention of *Quaternions* by Sir William Rowan Hamilton, a Dublin professor, marks a new stride in mathematical science.

The foundations of the new science of *Geology* were laid by the observations of James Hutton (1726-1797) and William Smith (1769-1840). In a later generation it was helped forward by the labours of Buckland, Lyell, Sedgwick, and Murchison. *Palæontology* was ably advanced by Owen, a great authority on Anatomy, and proved a connection-link with the old science of Natural History, already developing into the modern science of *Biology*, when a revolution in scientific thought was brought about by the publication in 1859 of the *Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin (1809-1882). It was the first of a long series of brilliant and epoch-making books which gradually led to the general acceptance of *Evolution*, or the theory of progress by gradual growth, which about the same time was

simultaneously hit upon by Alfred Wallace. Darwin's theories soon extended into every branch of science the fruitful method of trying to find out the origin of things by patient investigation of their history, rather than by startling theories based upon their later and developed aspects. It is in the *Social Sciences* as fruitful a method as in Biology, and the sciences of law and of history have been metamorphosed by its influence and action. *Philology* has been raised by it from the confined limits of elegant scholarship into a real science of language. More than any other single principle this *Historical Method* marks out the contrast between eighteenth and nineteenth century thought. In 1831 the foundation of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, with its annual meetings in various large towns, has served to bring men of science together, and to make their studies better known.

31. Literature has not fallen short in its progress. Early in the century the new school of poetry was represented by the *Lake School*, headed by William Wordsworth (1770-1850), the lofty and sincere singer of Nature and the natural man, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), subtlest of poets, most mystic of thinkers, and most unstable of men. Fear of the French Revolution woke these writers and their friends, such as the scholarly Robert Southey (1774-1843), from their fervid dreams of a coming era of peace and truth into sympathy with old ways, though men like Lamb and Hazlitt retained their strong Liberalism. And soon the very bigotry of the Reaction drove younger men, and notably George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788-1824), the greatest poetical force of his day, and the most popular and inspiring of modern poets, into fierce and eloquent though unmeasured denunciations of the tyranny of cant, custom, and ignorance. To this day the poetry of the whole civilised world shows clearly the effects of Byron's writing, spirit, and form of verse. He has been the herald of Liberalism to the youths of Europe and America for two generations. Side by side with Byron, as a poet of Revolution, stood Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), the most musical, most imaginative, and most unworldly of modern lyrical poets, who entered far more deeply than Byron into sympathy with the moral and material yearnings of the modern mind. Alongside them wrote John Keats (1795-1821), cut off before his rare genius had wholly ripened, in a youth undisturbed by political tumult, in the single-minded worship of beauty. His

career marks the exhaustion of the impulse which began with Burns and Cowper, and which had now filled all Britain with singers. Among other notable poetic work of this period must be reckoned the musical lyrics of Thomas Moore (1779-1852), the noble songs of Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), the robust, vigorous and popular poetic romances of Walter Scott, and the faint Wordsworthian echoes of John Keble's pious and refined *Christian Year*.

A new poetic wave surges up with the great stir of national life marked by the Reform Bill, and the Mediæval Revival and Tractarian movement. The new writers grapple with all the problems of life and nature that were disturbing the minds of the new generation. This movement seems as it were to culminate in the poems of two men—Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), whose work, inspired originally by Wordsworth and Keats, tenderly and beautifully reflects with Virgilian finish the varied moods of nature; and Robert Browning (1812-1889), the poet-philosopher, the deepest, roughest, and most strenuous of our modern singers. To be named with, but after, them are Wordsworth's faithful but wayward disciple Matthew Arnold (son of Arnold of Rugby), who also wrote admirable criticism in lucid and polished prose, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Robert Browning's gifted wife.

In strong contrast to these stands the *Æsthetic School*, who, like Keats before them, have gone to Greece and Mediæval Europe for models and subjects, careless of external aims, and pursuing art for her own sake. Their work, foreshadowed by Charles Wells and Beddoes, seems to centre round the exquisite sonnets and pictorial poems of Rossetti, as consummate a poet as he was unique as a painter. It has become most widely known by the musical and eloquent verse of Algernon Charles Swinburne, the fresh and beautiful narrative verse of William Morris, a painter and designer of rare excellence, and the pious and delicate lyrics of Christina Rossetti, first of English poetesses.

32. Nor is this nineteenth century less remarkable for prose than for poetry. Early in the present era the *Romantic School* spread as rapidly and surely by its prose fiction as by its verse and drama. Prose.

Disgusted at the levelling tendency of the French Revolution, crushed by the dull monotony of the middle-class life of the preceding age, and attracted by the glamour of the remoter past, the Romanticists found, like the Tractarians and the Gothic and Pre-Raphaelite revivalists, their fullest

satisfaction and consolation in the study of the Middle Ages. With much that was fantastic, much that was of permanent good sprang from the movement. History again becomes a serious study, and the labours of the judicious Hallam prepared the way for the fuller and more detailed investigations of later times. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) glorified, with eloquent rhetoric, the triumphs of Whiggism and of modern material progress, and became the most popular, vivid, and picturesque of historians, and the best index of the merits and deficiencies of his time. But the great growth of modern times is the novel, which in the hands of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), an Edinburgh lawyer who aspired to be a Border laird, became at once the best exposition of the romantic past, a shrewd and sympathetic analysis of human character and manners, and the greatest literary influence on modern life. Among the best prose literature we may enrol the poetic and impassioned eloquence of Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859); the austere style and vigorous fancy of Walter Savage Landor (1775-1864); the exquisite taste and gentle humour of our greatest critic, Charles Lamb (1775-1834); the classic simplicity and keen appreciation of William Hazlitt; the fine, sturdy directness of William Cobbett; and the subtle art and skill of John Henry Newman's eloquent pleadings for the theology and system of Modern Rome.

A school of strong, but narrow, reformers sprang up from the teaching of Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), and were represented in literature by John Austin, the scientific lawyer, James Mill, the historian of India, and George Grote, the banker and historian. They were called *Utilitarians*.

Utilitarians, because they applauded or condemned actions and institutions, according to their usefulness and bearing on the "greatest good of the greatest number." But save in the important departments of law and constitutional reform, their action was perhaps more effective in criticising old than in framing new plans, and their insistence in politics and economics on the doctrine of *laissez faire* kept them out of harmony with the deeper movements of the time. The last teacher of the school, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), son of James Mill, found it hard to square his cold philosophy with his sympathetic and wide philanthropy, and after his time new influences reigned over English thought, represented by the Hegelian German school, expounded by such men as Thomas Hill Green, and the fervid advocates of Evolution, headed by Herbert Spencer.

Strong reaction from the *doctrinaire* Utilitarians, banker-economists, and greed-inspired mill-owners fired the most influential teacher of the middle part of the century, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), who taught reverence, obedience, hero-worship, and the gospel of duty and work in the strangest, most irregular, and most personal of styles, and wielded a mighty influence in turning men away from the coarse materialism of an age of shams, machinery, and mammon-worship. His friend and disciple, John Ruskin, richest, most eloquent, and most capricious of writers, made art criticism his vehicle for the moral and social teaching of his master. Another disciple of Carlyle's was James Anthony Froude, a fine writer, but a poor historian.

The scientific study of past history has gained much from the inspiration of Great German teachers like Niebuhr. Thomas Arnold, Bishop Thirlwall, and George Grote wrote the History of Greece in a new and more real spirit. The labours of Lingard, Kemble, Hallam, and Palgrave, and the advance of historical work in France and Germany, have stimulated the growth of an English Historical School of which Stubbs, Freeman, and Gardiner are the conspicuous members, while Sir William Napier (brother of the conqueror of Sind) and Kinglake wrote admirable narratives of contemporary events, and John Richard Green popularised the history of the English people.

Novel-writing continued to be the most popular form of literature; the *historical novel*, founded by Scott and followed by Hugo and Dumas in France, and less able writers here and in America, was long in vogue, but the *novel of contemporary life*, in its many varieties, secured the adherence of most writers and readers. The admirable sketches of Miss Edgeworth, Carleton, and Galt were succeeded by the work of the greatest of English novelists, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863), who analysed and satirised the society of his day; by Charles Dickens (1812-1870), the most popular of all writers of fiction, who dwelt with laughable exaggeration on the foibles and humours of London life, and strove to promote reforms by lurid pictures of some evils of society. Among prominent works of fiction may be included the sea stories of Captain Marryat, which have delighted three generations of English boys; the powerful and passionate fiction of the three Brontë sisters, Charlotte, Emily, and Anne; the powerful wayward tales of George Borrow; the faithful photo-

graphy of dull English middle-class life by Anthony Trollope; the vigorous and purposeful stories of Charles Kingsley, Charles Reade, and Mrs. Gaskell; the clever and amusing caricatures and romances of Charles Lever; the admirable pictures of country and country-town society, which, with too great an admixture of didactic reflection, mark the work of Marian Evans (1819-1880), who wrote as George Eliot; the showy and popular but hollow and unreal novels of Lord Lytton, and the fantastic novels of Disraeli, some of which, despite their exaggeration and affectation, will survive on account of the shrewdness of their political aim, and the light they throw on the character of their writer. Foremost among recent writings stand the popular but thoroughly artistic essays and tales of Robert Louis Stevenson and the great work of the poet George Meredith, whose brilliant and thoughtful novels will never lack admirers and readers. Nor should we forget the vigorous and patriotic tales and songs of Rudyard Kipling, who has done such excellent service in stimulating public interest in India, the army, and the colonies.

33. The growth of periodicals and of the newspaper press is the sign of a large class of people fond of reading, but not **Magazines and Newspapers.** able or willing to read deeply. In 1802 a group of young men of letters living at Edinburgh, then an intellectual centre hardly second to London, founded the Whig *Edinburgh Review*, to which Macaulay contributed his famous Essays. In 1818 the Tories started the opposition *Quarterly Review*. *Blackwood's Magazine* was founded in 1817, the organ of the poet-professor John Wilson, and Scott's son-in-law and biographer John Lockhart; and the equally brilliant *Fraser's Magazine* (1830-1882), with its wonderful body of contributors, came a few years later with many other monthlies. In London the *Times* newspaper, started in 1788, and edited between 1815 and 1877 by Barnes and Delane, having exposed a series of commercial frauds, gained a wonderful influence and shrewd power of forecasting opinion. The first daily paper in Scotland was started in 1847. The reduction of the newspaper stamp to a penny in 1836, and its abolition altogether in 1855, caused a great growth of the *provincial press*, daily papers now cropping up in all the large towns, and rivalling the London ones. The *Scotsman*, the *Manchester Guardian* (twice a week), the *Leeds* and *Liverpool Mercuries*, and the *Northern Star* (once the Chartist organ), previously leading local weeklies, soon became daily papers. A new departure began with the London *Daily News* in 1846,

edited for a time by Charles Dickens, the first cheap daily paper, which in 1868 was first sold for a penny. The cheapening process went on until few papers cost more than a penny, and many a halfpenny. Charles Knight's excellent *Penny Magazine* (1832-1846), published for the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal*, and the *Dublin Magazine* were the first cheap magazines. In 1850 Dickens's *Household Words* was published every week. In 1865 George Henry Lewes, a writer on philosophical and scientific subjects, started the *Fortnightly Review* for the free discussion of serious subjects by known writers, and his example has been followed by a number of imitators. A crowd of cheap magazines, mostly consisting of tales and light articles, now floods the literary market. Of late years there has been an immense increase in the number of papers devoted to special branches of science and sport, several of which are of much excellence.

34. The circle of educated or partly educated readers, for all that is now written, has been immensely widened by the diffusion of education. Early in the century Elementary Education. most of the old grammar and charity schools had sunk very low, and few children of the English, and none of the Irish, lower classes had any education, though in Scotland a plan projected by John Knox and the Reformers had been a reality since 1696, and every parish had had its school for over a century. A new departure was made with the efforts of Bell and Lancaster, and the *National Society* started in 1811, on Church principles, to rival the "undenominational" *British and Foreign School Society* begun in 1804. But at first their operations were on a small scale, though a new period begins in 1833, when public money was first granted for elementary education. In 1839 the rudiments of an *Education Department* appear, and the earnest efforts of Dr. Kay, afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the secretary to the *Committee of Council on Education*, gradually built up the best system circumstances allowed. But religious animosities long stopped the way of further progress. In 1839 the bishops prevented the establishment of a Government *Training School*, so that the whole work was thrown on the two societies. In 1843 the Dissenters stopped in the same way the education clauses in Graham's Factory Bill, and soon afterwards, led by John Bright, strongly opposed the progressive *Minute* of 1846, because they saw it would help on church schools most, as the zeal of the clergy was, and remained

till 1870, the most effective means of supplying popular education. Nevertheless, the number of children in National and British schools continued to grow, and the State grants mounted up in 1861 to three-quarters of a million a year. In 1861 Robert Lowe, then Vice-President of the Education Committee, brought in the *new code* with its plausible but baleful system of so-called "payment by results." In 1870 Forster's *Education Act* supplemented the labours of the voluntary educators by establishing school-boards, compulsion, and a really national system. The result was that the million children receiving elementary education in 1870 was raised by 1885 to over three millions. In Ireland the system adopted has been different, and progress much slower.

England had now a system of *primary education*, but *secondary education* remained in the old chaos, though much was gradually done to better the state of individual public and grammar schools. *Public School Education* received a new start with the labours of Thomas Arnold at Rugby, and in 1868 the *Public Schools Act* reformed seven of the greatest historical English Schools. In 1869 the *Endowed Schools Act* began the reform of the grammar schools, and, in the long-run, much improved secondary education. A "payment by results" system was started by the Disraeli Government in Ireland, and in 1889 an Act was passed to promote intermediate education in Wales. Of late years many *Technical Schools* for the promotion of skill in handicrafts and in applied science have been set up, especially in the great towns, and the Town and County Councils have been enabled to spend large sums of public money in establishing and conducting them.

The *Universities* were casting off the slumber of the eighteenth century. The Tractarian and Liberal movements after 1830 made *Oxford* full of real intellectual life, and, more gradually, *Cambridge*, never sunk so low as Oxford, became a centre of zealous study. But the corruptions of generations could only be cleared away by force, and the large changes thought needful to bring the ancient seats of learning abreast of modern times were sought for from external sources. In 1854 Oxford and Cambridge were reformed by Royal Commissions. The monopoly of power of the heads of houses, the clerical, local, and celibate restrictions in the Colleges, the dependence of the University on the Colleges composing it, were assailed, while the Universities themselves

had already begun to bring in new studies, such as History and Natural Science. A new spirit now came over Oxford and Cambridge, which for good and evil has since endured, and was strengthened by the abolition of religious tests in 1871, and the second commission in 1877, though the outside reformers worked without method or policy, and in some ways did distinct harm. Competition has awakened the slumber of students, but has often led them aside from the real ends of all study.

In George IV.'s reign the *London University* was started by Brougham and Grote, to open out higher education to non-Churchmen, while the Church started *King's College* in opposition. A Charter to confer degrees was given to both in 1835, but unluckily the *London University*, as the degree-giving body was called, afterwards became a mere place for examining all comers, though Brougham's foundation continued to flourish as *University College*. The four *Scotch Universities*, poor and unorganised, but full of rough and vigorous intellectual life, and sometimes taught by men of the greatest eminence, though for the mass of their students rather higher popular schools than seats of the highest culture, were very partially reformed in 1858. In Ireland religious and political difficulties have retarded the progress of higher education. *Trinity College, Dublin*, despite the abolition of religious tests, retains largely its Protestant character. A retrograde step was taken in 1880, when the *Queen's University* was superseded by the *Royal University*, a simple examining body. In recent days *local colleges*, now fast winning State support, have been started in most of the larger towns, and have done a useful work in popularising higher culture, and in some cases have become great centres of serious study and research, notably in the newer branches of education, such as natural science, history, and philology. *Owens College, Manchester*, the oldest, wealthiest, and largest of these, was for a time united with its neighbours, *University College, Liverpool*, and the *Yorkshire College, Leeds*, to form the *Victoria University*. This has now developed into three independent universities for Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. In 1893 the three university colleges set up by the State in Wales were federated in the *Welsh University*, and in 1900 Mason's College, *Birmingham*, was erected into the *University of Birmingham*, largely through the efforts of Mr. Chamberlain.

BOOK XI.

INDIA AND THE COLONIES.

1760-1901.

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of the English race has long ceased to be simply the history of a small corner of North-Western Europe. For the last two centuries a constant *Expansion of England* has been going on which is from many points of view the most striking fact of our recent history.

In the seventeenth century England was only one of several European colonising and trading powers. The Revolution of 1688 saw her already striving for the first place. Portugal and Holland, the first countries of modern Europe to found trading Empires, now became her dependants. The wars of the eighteenth century effectually got rid of the more formidable rivalry of France and Spain.

The English triumph brought about two great results. It led to the establishment of a vast dependency in India. It resulted in the settlement of a great series of English colonies all over the world.

The loss of America, though it split for ever the British race in twain, hardly seemed to check this development. During the very years in which America was winning her independence, Warren Hastings was building up the British Empire in India. A New Colonial Empire, won by force from less successful foreign colonists, or settled in wildernesses hitherto untrodden by civilised man, now grew up with wonderful rapidity.

We have now to see how during the period between the early years of George III. and the present day British India and the New Colonial Empire came into being.

CHAPTER I.

British India, 1760-1901.

1. The vast peninsula called by the westerns India is as big as all Europe west of Russia, and includes as many differences of race, tongue, manners, civilisation, climate, and productions as Europe itself. India and its peoples. Geographically it is divided into the *Mountain district of the Hindlajas*, which cuts it off from Asia proper by a double wall of snow, the *great plain of the North*, or *Hindostan*, watered by the Ganges and Indus, and, south of the Vindhya Mountains, the *southern table-land of the Deccan peninsula*. The oldest historical inhabitants were flat-nosed savages, whose descendants still remain in the wild *hill tribes*, some still in their The Non-Aryans. ancient barbarism, but others settled down to peaceful life, and showing trustworthiness and bravery as soldiers. Long before recorded history begins, North-west India was invaded by a small body of fair-skinned Aryans, with both a vernacular and a sacred tongue (Sanskrit) akin to those of Europe, and enjoying The Aryans. a primitive civilisation of the same origin as our own. They enslaved many of their forerunners, and drove the rest into the hills and into the south, and, gradually civilising and blending with their dependants, The Hindú race. there grew up the mixed but Aryan-speaking Hindú races of Northern and Western India. The stationary civilisation which grew up in Aryan Hindostan was due to the growth of a rigid *caste system*, at once the social and religious basis of life, which built up impassable walls between the "twice born" high castes, proud of their less tainted Aryan blood, and headed by the noble *Bráhmans*, and the "once born" low castes, who in feature, manners, and faith show the blood of the primitive non-Aryan folk. The Hindú mind soon practically abandoned the aristocratic worship of the Aryan gods of the *Vedas* for the worship of *Vishnu* the Preserver, and even *Siva* the Foul Destroyer, and for the local adoration of the formless gods of clay and rough-hewn stones that are venerated by the simple husbandmen. In the south the Dravidian non-Aryan tongues prevail, such as *Tamil*, *Telugu*, and *Kánarese*, and even the northern dialects like *Hindí* and *Maráthi* show many traces of a non-Aryan commixture.

But the variety of the conditions and the vastness of Indian distances bring out very wide differences in the Hindú stock. The fierce warlike clans preyed upon the easy-going peace-loving husbandmen organised into self-governing tribal village communities.

2. The history of India, helpless in its mild population and tempting with its fancied wealth, is a long series of foreign invasions, beginning with the Greeks under Alexander and his successors. Early in the eleventh century the all-conquering Mohammedans of Central Asia first crossed the mighty mountain wall and carved out kingdoms for themselves in the rich plains beyond. Besides bringing in an exclusive caste of ruling foreigners, who with their Persian speech and semi-Turkish semi-Arab civilisation were cut off very sharply from their subjects, they forced a large minority of the north-western states and a majority of the lower Bengáls to turn to the faith of Islam. A long series of conquests from Mahmúd of Ghazní and Timúr culminated in the invasion of *Bábar* (the Lion) in 1526, the founder of the *Mogul (Mughal) Empire*, which under his grandson *Akbar the Great* (1556-1605) became a mighty power ruling the vast plains of the north through a careful civil and military organisation, and raising a greater revenue from them than has ever since been drawn from the same districts. Under *Jahángír* (1605-1627) and *Sháh Jahán* (1628-1658) the Empire continued to flourish, and extended its conquests to the Deccan. *Aurangzeb* (1658-1707) was the last great Mogul Emperor. But he wasted his strength in the vain effort to consolidate his rule in the south, and after his death the Empire fell asunder.

3. A great *Hindu revival* had begun with the career of *Sivaji*, the leader of the warlike *Maráthás* (1674), whose descendants soon fell into sloth and impotence as *Rájás of Sátára*, leaving the real lordship of the people to the *Peshwá*, or hereditary prime minister, who ruled at Poona, over nearly all Southern India, and extended his ravages as far north as the Punjab. But the hardy Afgháns came to the help of the Mohammedans of India, and internal dissensions broke up the unity of the Maráthá power, though even in their decay they remained the greatest military influence in Central India. The high Bráhman *Peshwá* sank to be the local lord of Poona, and the titular head of a so called "con-

federacy," of five Maráthá houses, whose other chieftains were of humble stock like the low-caste warriors The five Maráthá States. who made up the real strength of the Maráthás. In the north lines of chiefs named *Sindhia* and *Holkar*, sprung respectively from a slipper-bearer and a shepherd, ruled over fertile Málwá at Gwalior and Indore. The *Bhonslās* of Nágpur bore sway over Berar and Central India, and by their conquest of Orissa threatened Bengal. The *Gáekwárs* of Baroda governed a rich though scattered territory in Gujarát and Káthiáwar. Bit by bit the Maráthás ceased to be freebooters and became rulers and conquerors.

4. The degenerate lords of Delhi, after losing Afghán assistance became in turns dependent on the English and the Maráthás. The Viceroy of the Moguls had India on the eve of the British Conquest. now become for all real purposes sovereign chiefs. Beyond the Vindhya the Nizám-ul-Mulkh (Regulator of the State), whose capital was Haidarabad, was nominally *Subadhár* or Viceroy of the Mogul Emperors in all Southern India, but his power was circumscribed by the Bhonslā on the north, and the Hindu *Rájás* of Mysore, Trichinopoli, and a swarm of petty hill chieftains on the south. Even his own vassal, the *Nawáb of Arcot*, lord of the Karnátik, acted quite independently of him. In the north the *Nawábs* were equally free to do what they would, but power easily dropped from their nerveless hands to any strong adventurer. It was thus that the Arcot and Bengal succession questions became, as we have seen, the occasions for the fierce rivalry of French and English, and the triumph of Clive over Duplex, which made the English Company the virtual ruler of Bengal. Higher up the Ganges ruled the Mohammedan *Wazírs of Oudh*. In the extreme north the *Punjab* became the possession of the *Sikhs*, a martial sect of reforming Hindu Puritans, who taught the unity of God and the duty of living a pure life, and rejected caste altogether. To their south the high-caste chieftains of *Rájputána* had been the first to lead the Hindu revolt against the Moguls.

The death of Aurangzeb began the confusion, which culminated in 1761, when the defeat of the Maráthás at *Pánipat* by the Afgháns, leagued with their Moslem brethren of India, prevented the further growth of the Maráthá power, though it was powerless to restore the tottering Mogul Empire. Everywhere were anarchy and confusion, warfare and brigandage. Population fell off, till

there were hardly men enough left to till the fields. Such was the state of things which made possible a European conquest of India. The triumph of Clive over Duplex had already settled that England, not France, should win the prize.

5. Plassey and Wandewash gave the East India Company a supremacy over Bengal and the Karnátik, but in no way enlarged their territorial possessions. For nearly forty more years the Governor of Madras ruled over little beyond the town and factories. The Governor of Bombay had not even an ascendancy until the end of the century. Even in Bengal the only legal change was the grant by Mír Jafar of the *zamindari* or right of collecting the rents of the cultivators in the *Twenty-four Parganás* (the district round Calcutta), and where they were after 1759 the feudal subjects of Clive himself, who received from the Emperor the *jágir* or military fief of the same district, an arrangement only ended after Clive's death.

From 1758 to 1760 Clive's presence as Governor of the Calcutta factory ensured the keeping up of the English supremacy, but from 1760 to 1765 he was away in England. During this period the greedy officials sought only to turn the Company's position into a means of heaping up ill-gotten fortunes from the helpless Bengalis, and managed so badly that they drove the new Nawáb Mír Kásim, son-in-law of Mír Jafar, to break with the Company. Mír Kásim now went to war, massacred 200 English at Patná, and formed an alliance with the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh and Sháh Alam, the new Emperor. But the English were still the stronger. In 1764 the Nawáb was badly beaten at the decisive *battle of Baxár*, which laid not only Bengal, but Oudh and the Emperor himself, at the feet of the Company.

6. In 1765 Clive (now a peer) came back as Governor, and by giving the districts of Allahábád and Kora, which made up most of the Doáb (the region between the Jumna and the Ganges), back to the Emperor, and restoring the Nawáb Wazír to Oudh, he got Sháh Alam to grant the Company the *Diwán* or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, though the *Nizámat* or criminal jurisdiction still remained with the puppet Nawáb at Murshidábád. Clive's other great work was to stop the monstrous corruption which had resulted from every servant of the Company engaging in private trade and receiving presents from the natives. He com-

The English
supremacy.

The period
of anarchy,
1760-1765.

The Dual
System,
1765-1772.

pensated the unwilling and mutinous civilians and officers by a large increase to their hitherto scanty pay. Thus he laid the foundations both of our territorial Empire and of our system of administration. But his *Dual System* of government, by which the Company and the Nawáb were still joint rulers, and corrupt native underlings still collected the revenue from the suffering and patient cultivators, soon proved a complete failure. Yet it bridged over the transition from a state of affairs very similar to our present position in Egypt, to a time when Bengal became in name as well as in deed a possession of the Company. Anyhow it was a great improvement on the mere anarchy and robbery of the times between 1757 and 1765, and the violent attacks which embittered the closing years of Clive's life were inspired by the jobbers and robbers that he had curbed in their evil deeds.

In 1774 Clive died of his own hand. He was in person "the largest of the middle size, his countenance inclined to sadness, and the heaviness of his brow imparted an unpleasing expression to his features. His words were few, and his manner with strangers reserved. Yet he won the confidence

Death and
Character
of Clive,
1774.

of men and gained admission to the heart, and among his intimates he had great pleasantry and jocoseness." He suffered terribly from nervous depression and from weak health. He was simple and soldierly in his manner, and won enormous influence over the natives, though he never spoke their tongues. He was not untouched by the laxity and unscrupulousness of Indian politics, nor did he disdain to build up a mighty fortune for himself, but his whole influence made for efficiency, justice, and sound government. He was the founder of our Indian Empire.

7. The Dual System lasted from 1765 to 1772. In 1770 a terrible famine cut off a third of the population of Bengal, and the Company's finances fell into a sorry plight. This led the sluggish Directors in Leadenhall Street to complete their work as rulers. In 1772 they appointed Warren Hastings Governor of Bengal to give effect to their new resolution to "stand forth as *dwán*, and to take upon themselves by the agency of their own servants the entire care and administration of the revenues."

Warren Hastings, born in 1732, was sprung from a Worcestershire family of old descent, but of complete poverty, and, losing his father young, had been sent out to India by an uncle. He soon got known as a hardworking

and able civilian. Disgusted at the mismanagement in the days of anarchy, he had gone back to England in 1764, but was sent out again in 1768 as a member of the **Warren Hastings, 1732-1818.** Madras Council. He was "thin, very grave, but in good health," "looking like a great man and not like a bad one," living a life very different from the riotous disorder of most of the Company's agents, "eating no supper, going to bed at ten, abstaining wholly from wine, and dieting himself on *pish-pash*, bread and water, or an egg;" and "wearing a plain suit of English broadcloth with no lace or embroidery." He was dignified, liberal, proud of his descent, and somewhat reserved; but of warm affections, playful and kindly among his friends, and fond of amusing himself by writing bad verses. He had great ambition, and was, like Chatham, thoroughly conscious of his great powers. He ruled India till 1785, and proved the organiser and consolidator of our Empire, and one of the greatest Englishmen that have ever lived.

8. From 1772 to 1785 Hastings controlled the destinies of British India. He abolished Clive's system, and by appointing European collectors to every district, establishing courts of justice and a police system, created the administrative system which has become one of the great glories of the British rule, and turned an Eastern despotism, exercised by Western merchants, into a stable, settled, and enlightened government. But he had to make Bengal pay, and found that his easiest way of getting money was by a brilliant foreign policy. He wisely cut down the enormous allowances of the Nawáb, when he transferred the real government from Murshidábád to Calcutta. Seeing that Sháh Alam had now become a tool of the Maráthás, he broke Clive's settlement of Allahábád and Kora to the Emperor, and for a vast sum allowed it to be occupied by the Wazír of Oudh, lending him British troops to put down in the ruthless Eastern way the brave resistance of the Rohillás, an Afghán brigand tribe that had lorded it brutally over the peasantry of the two provinces (1773-74). He deprived Chait Singh, the vassal Rájá of Benares, of his throne, on his resisting his demand to pay for a force of soldiers, and exacted an increased tribute from his nephew and successor (1780). He charged the Begam or queen-mother of Oudh for abetting the Rájá in his resistance, and extorted over a million from her (1782). Such acts shewed the vigour of his northern foreign

policy, but the constant cry for gold from Leadenhall Street forced him to exact crushing tribute from his foes.

9. No sordid money-seeking cares marred the policy of Hastings in Southern India. He found the English power at a low ebb, both at Bombay and Madras. The Bombay Presidency had lagged far behind the other two, but was now seeking to bring its greatest neighbour under its influence by setting up a friendly candidate for the throne of the Peshwá. The result was the *First Maráthá War*, in which the Bombay forces were thoroughly beaten until Hastings sent the Bengal army to their help, and set matters right by the rapid conquest of Gujarát, and the storming of the isolated and strongly fortified rock of Gwalior. But the Bombay Peshwá was put off with a pension, and all the English won in the strife were the petty places of Salsette and Elephanta.

**The First
Maráthá
War,
1775-82.**

Formidable troubles threatened the very existence of the Madras Presidency, where the dependent Nawábs of the Karnátik were still suffered to rule, and even to have a foreign policy of their own. The outbreak of the American revolt found the French making an active effort to win back their position in India. With this object they joined hands with Haidar Ali, a mercenary leader, who had in 1776 made a prisoner of his old master the Hindú Rájá of Mysore, and was shewing himself a crafty statesman and a born soldier and leader of men in his careful, persistent, and successful efforts to make Mysore the great power of Southern India. Haidar was a tall, robust, strong, active man of fair and florid complexion, a bold horseman, a skilful swordsman, and an unrivalled shot. He was a Mohammedan, but tolerant and kindly to his Hindú subjects. He now overran the Karnátik, frightening the trembling Nawáb into a doubtful policy, defeating the English troops, and wasting the country up to the very gates of Madras. The Madras army could do little, and Hastings again came to the rescue. He sent the veteran Sir Eyre Coote to Madras, and on 1st July 1781 the victor of Wandewash won the hard-fought *battle of Porto Novo*, which saved Madras, though it left Haidar Ali's power unbroken. The old soldier held his own till his death in 1782, and his son and successor, Tipú Sultán, carried on the fight till 1784. But if Haidar was "born to create a state, Tipú was born to lose it." Haidar had long lamented that Tipú's "intellect was of an inferior order

Haidar Ali.

**The First
Mysore War,
1775-82.**

and his disposition wantonly cruel, deceitful, vicious and intractable." As a child he slew, half in sport and half in fanatic fury, the sacred bulls of the Hindús, and as a man he proclaimed a holy war and shut up the Hindú temples.

The French proved but cautious and backward allies, and Hastings, though hampered by his subordinates, was able to cope with Tipú. The peace providing for the mutual restitution of conquests recognised the division of Southern India between Mysore and the Company.

10. The progress of the Company's sovereignty led Lord North to pass the Regulating Act, 1773, the first intervention of the English State in the affairs of the Company.

This turned the Governor of Bengal into the Governor-General of Bengal, and the chief ruler of the Company's possessions, 1773. with power to control the Governors of Madras and Bombay, provided him with a Council, and set up a Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta.

Hastings was rightly nominated the first Governor-General. The most prominent member of the new Council

Hastings the First Governor-General of Bengal, 1774-85. was Philip Francis, an able but factious War-Office clerk, often suspected of being the author of the *Junius* letters. The first Chief-Justice was Sir Elijah Impey. Hastings as Chairman

had only a casting vote, and Francis led the majority of his brethren in maliciously thwarting all his best-laid plans

Hastings and Francis, 1774-80. and most prudent schemes. The Bengalis thought Hastings' power was gone, and his old enemy, the crafty and subtle Brahmán

financier Nand Komár (Nuncomar), plied the Council with tales, eagerly received, and lightly believed, of the Governor's illegal acts. In 1775 Nand Komár was tried, convicted, and hanged for forgery, an act in which Impey has been most unjustly accused of wresting the law to get rid of Hastings' chief enemy. But bit by bit the opposition dropped off, and Hastings triumphed. "My enemies," he proudly boasted, "sickened, died, and fled. I maintained my ground unchanged. Neither the health of my body nor the vigour of my mind for a moment deserted me." He was now able to carry out his great schemes of administrative reform, which his enemies had so long thwarted. He only laid down power after Pitt's India Bill had brought about a new system which it was fitting that other hands should carry out. But on his return he found that the desperate and dispirited Whigs had greedily taken up the new cry which

Francis' malice furnished, and that the whole opposition, led by the generous but blind and misdirected fury of Burke, was crying for his impeachment as the wickedest of oppressors of the Indian peoples. Though brave King George stoutly upheld Hastings, Pitt himself had acquiesced in their proceedings (1786). The trial dragged on its slow length from 1788 to 1795, relieved only by the splendid speeches of Sheridan and Burke, managers of the impeachment for the House of Commons. At last it ended with the complete acquittal of the great Governor-General, who, ruined by law expenses, lived henceforth on the bounty of the Directors in calm and dignified retirement till his death at a green old age in 1818. His own words before his accusers best sum up his great work: "The valour of others acquired, I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to the dominion you hold there. Every division of official business which now exists in Bengal is of my formation."

Impeachment
of Hastings,
1786-95.

His work.

11. A new and better devised constitution for the Company's Dominion in India was roughly sketched out by Pitt's *India Bill*, which became law in 1784, and remained in force until 1858. Its leading principle was to draw a distinction between the Company as traders and the Company as rulers. Left to themselves to pursue their natural business, the Company was henceforwards checked and guided in its political acts by the *Board of Control*, a department of the Home Government. But the greater part of the initiative still rested with the Directors, and the Board, as a rule, only examined and ratified their acts. The result was that the effective Home Government of India still rested with the Company, except in the spheres of war and diplomacy, where the power of starting plans lay with the Board of Control. But India was still many months away from England, and just as it had been conquered by Indian agencies and Indian resources, so now its government had mostly to be carried on on the spot, and the whole Indian Executive, save the Commander-in-chief and King's troops lent to the Company, consisted of the servants of the Company, which had its own army, English and Sepoy, and its own navy as well as its own Civil Service. The Company still appointed even to the highest posts, but in those the Crown henceforth had a veto, and great English noblemen are henceforth as a rule appointed to the chief governorships.

Pitt's India
Bill, 1784.

The Double
Government,
1784-1858.

12. Lord Cornwallis, a painstaking though unlucky general, a careful and clear-headed politician, and a man of high and estimable character, now accepted the Governor-Generalship under the new system. Three great events mark his tenure of office, which completed and consummated the home and foreign policy of Hastings. They were the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, the reform of the Company's administration, and the second Mysore War.

Cornwallis
Governor-
General,
1786-93.

From time beyond memory the soil of Bengal had been tilled and the land held by self-governing village communities, each under its head-man, who paid a heavy land-tax or rent to the State, which was in a way the final owner of the soil. The Mogul Emperors had intrusted the collection of the land-tax to a class called *Zamindars*, who were often old local chiefs, and whose office tended to become permanent and hereditary. The English now established a settlement of the lands of Bengal, Behar, and English Orissa (the rest belonged to Bhonslá), by which the Zamindár tax farmers were practically given the proprietorship of the lands they were responsible for, at a fixed rate of payment, which was now declared perpetual.

The Permanent
Settlement
of Bengal,
1793.

It has been said that Cornwallis wished to set up a class of squires in Bengal; but, though the English system of private and individual ownership of land in large masses may have led him to disregard the less obtrusive rights of the peasant groups, holding the land in common as some of our Teutonic ancestors did before they came to Britain, yet the real motive which inspired him was the desire to get a fixed and certain revenue, and the notion that the wealthy Zamindárs were easier to get hold of, and more likely to keep a contract than the ignorant and numerous peasantry. But the Zamindárs soon began to rack rent their new dependants, whose long standing customary rights only received a tardy and partial recognition in 1859 and 1885. Far better was the *rhyatwári settlement* of most of Madras when, early in the nineteenth century, the lands of the Nawábs of the Karnátik were annexed to the British dominions. This made the *radyáí*, or peasant-cultivator, the proprietor of the soil, and not a grasping middle-man. But alike in north and south the old communal land tenure was changed into individual ownership after the English fashion. In Bombay a similar but simpler settlement was made to that of Madras. But the southern peasant often fell hopelessly into the hands of the village usurer, from whom he has been to some extent protected by recent legislation.

Cornwallis separated the duties of collector and judge, and established the *Sudder criminal courts* (Nizámat Sadr Adálat), which with the civil Sudder courts (Díwání Sadr Adálat) built up a system of jurisdiction over the Company's native subjects, administered by civilians, covenanted servants of the Company. The old Hindú and Mohammedan laws relating to the family were respected.

Sudder Courts.

Between 1790 and 1792 Cornwallis in person carried on

the *Second Mysore War*, having by his wise diplomacy got the Nizám and the Maráthá chiefs to join him in the alliance against Tipú Sultán. Such a combination could not be withstood, and, after Seringapatam, his capital, had been besieged, Tipú sought peace in despair, surrendering about half his dominion to his three enemies, and paying all the costs of the war.

13. In 1793 Cornwallis, now a marquis, went back to England, leaving as his successor the able and experienced civilian Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who had been his chief adviser in carrying out the Permanent Settlement. In 1798 Shore was replaced by the extremely able and brilliant Irish nobleman, Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, the friend of Pitt and the elder brother of Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. Despite the inordinate self-esteem which led him to scorn the advice of others, Mornington proved one of the greatest, most resourceful and successful of Indian rulers. He came with a definite external policy of withstanding Revolutionary France, which now made its last great attempt to bring back the glories of Dupleix and Lally. French officers were now drilling the huge but undisciplined hordes of Sindhia and the Nizám. Tipú Sultán planted "a tree of liberty" in Mysore, and was enrolled in a Republican club as "Citizen Tipú." Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt was avowedly the first step to a grandiose scheme of Asiatic conquest, of which India was plainly the final aim.

Mornington saw that England's supremacy must be thoroughly established in India. Despite all that had been done, our territorial possessions were, outside the Lower Ganges, very insignificant. The Maráthás, with the puppet poet-emperor Sháh Alam in their power, the Nizám of the Deccan, and Tipú, despite his recent defeat, were all powerful rivals. By direct annexations and by *subsidiary treaties*, which bound the native states which signed them to formal vassalage to the Company, Mornington sought to carry out his schemes of ascendancy.

The Governor-General's success was brilliant. The *treaty of Lucknow* (1801) secured for England the lower parts of the fertile *Doáb* between the Ganges and Jumna along with Rohilkhand, and made the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh acknowledge the English overlordship. Still earlier the Nizám had abandoned his French soldiers and sympathies,

Second Mysore War, 1790-92.

Sir John Shore, Permanent Settlement. In 1798 Shore was replaced by the extremely able and brilliant Irish nobleman, Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, the friend of Pitt and the elder brother of Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. Despite the inordinate self-esteem which led him to scorn the advice of others, Mornington proved one of the greatest, most resourceful and successful of Indian rulers. He came with a definite external policy of withstanding Revolutionary France, which now made its last great attempt to bring back the glories of Dupleix and Lally. French officers were now drilling the huge but undisciplined hordes of Sindhia and the Nizám. Tipú Sultán planted "a tree of liberty" in Mysore, and was enrolled in a Republican club as "Citizen Tipú." Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt was avowedly the first step to a grandiose scheme of Asiatic conquest, of which India was plainly the final aim.

The Marquis Wellesley, 1798-1805.

The system of Subsidiary Treaties.

and had become the vassal and ally of the Company (1798). Tipú in the south, the Maráthás in the north, alone resisted the new system.

In 1799 Mornington offered Tipú, who had provoked him by hostile acts, the alternative of war or a subsidiary treaty. The lord of Mysore accepted the former, so that the same year saw war renewed in Europe, Egypt, and Southern India. "Citizen Tipú" failed more signally than his French allies.

General Harris besieged and stormed Seringapatam, and Tipú died a soldier's death at the gate of his citadel. His sons became respectable magistrates and citizens at Calcutta. His state, save some districts that went to the English and the Nizám, was handed over to the infant descendants of the Hindú Rájá his father had deposed. Mornington now completed his successes by the complete annexation of the *Karnátik*, up to now still ruled by the Nawáb of Arcot. The absorption of *Tanjore* completed the settlement of Southern India. He had found the Presidency of Madras a scanty and scattered territory round the old factory of Fort St. George. He now extended it to almost its present limits. His services were recognised by the title of Marquis Wellesley.

14. The Maráthás' power had received a great blow in the death of Mádhaji Sindhia, who had built up a formidable kingdom in Central India, extending as far northwards as Aligarh. They were now divided among themselves by internal factions. Holkar now drove the Peshwá out of Poona, and the fugitive Maráthá chieftain concluded in 1802 the subsidiary *Treaty of Bassein*, by which he promised, if restored with English help, to become a vassal of the Company. But Sindhia and the Bhonslá were indignant that the old chief of the confederacy should turn traitor, and joined with Holkar in withstanding the invaders. The Second Maráthá War was the result.

Wellesley showed the greatest vigour. On the news of the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens reaching India, Pondicherri was taken, and the French troops there collected imprisoned. Arthur Wellesley, who had first shown in a subordinate position in the Mysore war his great qualities as a general, was made commander of a southern army, while General Lake operated northwards from the Doáb. Both generals were brilliantly successful. On 23d September 1803, Arthur Wellesley's little host of 4500 men defeated Sindhia's 30,000 at *Assaye*, "the bloodiest battle for the numbers," he tells us, "that he ever saw." Sindhia now begged for a truce; but as it was found that his soldiers

were still fighting under the command of the yet unbeaten Bhonslá, his request was refused, and the English won a second and decisive victory at *Argaum* on 15th December. "If we had had daylight an hour more," wrote Wellesley, "not a man would have escaped." Meanwhile Lake, who had opposed to him the mass of Sindhia's European-trained troops, had won great battles at *Aligarh* and *Laswari*, and captured Delhi and Agra, freeing Sháh Alám, old, blind, and poor, from his long dependence on the Maráthás, and exciting the enthusiasm of the Mohammedans of the north.

The result was that Sindhia and Bhonslá accepted subsidiary treaties, dismissed their French officers, and surrendered large slices of territory. Sindhia gave up all his lands north of the Jumna to Sháh Alám, henceforth ruling under English protection. The provinces of the north and north-west were joined with those previously ceded by Oudh in the separately administered "Ceded and Conquered Provinces." The Bhonslá yielded the lands he possessed in Orissa to the English, and gave up Berar to the faithful Nizám. The Peshwá was restored as an English vassal to Poona. Yet for two years longer the undaunted Holkar continued to uphold the Maráthá cause, and drove Monson's force in panic flight through Central India in 1804 and, 1805, beat off Lake from the siege of *Bharatpur*, whose Rájá had now made common cause with the Maráthás. All through the war the Gáekwár, a boy, under the influence of the Bombay Government, remained neutral.

15. A great cry was now raised against Wellesley and his subsidiary system by the same factious crew that had impeached Hastings and rejoiced over English defeats in France. The Directors were terribly alarmed at the responsibility and expected cost of the new system. Wellesley was rewarded by a cold recall, and Cornwallis in his old age was sent out a second time to satisfy the Whigs and the Economists by patching up peace on any terms and undoing the great achievements of his predecessor. But Cornwallis had only been a few weeks in India when he succumbed to the dangers of the rainy season. For the next two years, Sir George Barlow, an insignificant civilian, ruled India with little courage or skill, devoting himself mainly to financial details, but suffering Holkar to go unpunished for his contumacy. The mutiny of the Madras Sepoys at Vellore (1806) was another proof of the decay of English energy. In 1807 the Earl of Lord Minto, 1807-13, still strictly committed by the Directors and the Grenville

Cornwallis' Second Government, 1806.

Sir George Barlow, 1806-7.

Lord Minto, 1807-13.

Government to a policy of non-intervention. The capture of Mauritius from the French and of Java from the Dutch gave some military glory to an otherwise uneventful rule. But nothing could destroy the fruits of Wellesley's triumphs, and, all against their will, the Company were forced by irresistible facts to accept their position as rulers of half India, and suzerains of the rest.

16. In 1814 more stirring times began with the governor-generalship of Lord Moira, the friend of the **The Marquis of Hastings, 1814-22.** Prince Regent, and after 1816 Marquis of Hastings.

In 1814 and 1815 a fierce struggle was carried on in the Lower Himalayas with the brave Gúrkhas of Nepál, who were a danger and a trouble to our northern frontier, which ended **Nepál War, 1814-15.** in the cession of large tracts of the vast hill country, where were soon to spring up such health-stations as Naini-tal and Simla, as refuges from the sweltering heats of the plain of the Ganges. In 1817 a vast **The Pindáris, 1817.** army was set on foot to stamp out the bands of Pindáris or freebooters, who from their strongholds in Málwá had long spread havoc throughout Central India, and were politically formidable from the hardly concealed sympathy of the Maráthá chieftains. Their defeat **Third Maráthá War, 1817-18.** was immediately followed by the rising of Holkar, the Peshwá, and the Bhonslá against the English. But the defeat of Holkar at *Mehidpur* soon brought their resistance to an end. The Peshwá was degraded with a pension, and sent to Bithúr, near Cawnpore; his forfeited dominions swelled out the little Bombay Presidency to the dimensions of a great state. Two children were set up at Indore and Nágpur to reign under British protection. The *Central Provinces* of a later period now had their beginning in the territories taken from the Pindáris. The warlike chieftains of Rájputána now accepted the English overlordship. But more important even than these conquests was the establishment of peace and sound government in the regions so long devastated by Maráthás and Pindáris.

17. A long period now sets in, during which the frontiers of British India were but little enlarged, though important **Lord Amherst, 1823-28.** dealings were entered into with great foreign states beyond the limits of English influence, such as Burma and Afghánistán, and a new departure was made in administration and internal improvements. The rule of Lord Amherst, nephew of the favourite of Chatham and conqueror of Canada, is mainly remarkable by the *First*

Burmese War, which first brought the English into relations with Further India. The Burmese, a people akin to the Chinese, and Buddhists in their faith, had long been encroaching on the extreme eastern possessions of the Company. The result was a long and destructive war, in which three British expeditions suffered terribly from the pestilential climate. But the king of Burma was forced to sign in 1826 the *Treaty of Yandabu*, which yielded up Assam on the Brahmaputra and the coast provinces of Arakan and Tennaserim to the English, Burma still retaining the whole valley of the Irawadi down to the sea. A disputed succession now brought about a new war with *Bharatpur*, and in 1826 the hitherto impregnable city, which had defied Lake in 1805, was captured by the skilful undermining of its solid walls of mud.

18. The courageous, high-minded, and unaffected Lord William Bentinck (younger son of the third Duke of Portland, Prime Minister in 1783 and 1807), who had been Governor of Madras during the stormy days of the mutiny at Vellore (1806), was the next Governor-General. His first work was to restore the finances, terribly disturbed by the vast expenses of the Burmese War. But his economies and his efforts to extend freedom of speech and writing, and to give greater facilities for entering the public service to the native races, aroused the class-feelings of the English civilians and officers, and nothing but the active support of the Directors and the Grey ministry enabled Bentinck to carry through his policy. In 1829 he had the courage to put down the ancient Hindú custom of *Sati* (Suttee) or widow-burning, despite the outcry of Hindús and Anglo-Indians, who thought that a revolt would follow an attack on a long-cherished superstition. He also stamped out *Thagi*, and rooted out the brotherhoods of *Thags* (Thugs) or hereditary murderers, who had wandered over the country in disguise and made a trade of strangling. He removed the old restrictions on missionaries, and took off the disabilities imposed by the Company on native Christians. He encouraged steam navigation on the Ganges. In 1833 the Company's Charter was renewed on terms which fitted in with the liberal character of Bentinck's acts. The Company ceased to trade, and allowed Europeans to settle. "Governor-General of Bengal" now became "*Governor-General of India*." The new charter added a "law-member" to the Council, and appointed a commission to codify Indian law, Macaulay coming out as the first legal councillor and pre-

sident of the commission. Bentinck set his face against all forward policy. His only permanent annexation was *Coorg*, in which he believed he had the good-will of the inhabitants. But he had to put *Mysore* for a time under British administration. It only got back native rule in 1881. Bentinck's great administrative work was organising the *Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces*, with Agra as the capital, out of the "*Ceded and Conquered Provinces*" of Wellesley's time. With Macaulay's advice and approval, he sought to educate the higher classes of the native races in Western Literature and the English language. Macaulay's inscription on his statue at Calcutta shows what his friends thought of him: "He abolished cruel rites: he effaced humiliating distinctions: he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion: his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge." It was the fault of his time and training that he sometimes carried out those great aims in a rather too Western way for India.

19. Sir Charles Metcalfe ably ruled India during the interregnum, which was at last ended by the nomination of Lord Auckland, Lord Auckland by the Melbourne Ministry. 1836-42.

It was now that the dread of Russian advance in Central Asia first seized upon Indian statesmen, and inspired Auckland to a policy which brought about the greatest disasters that have ever befallen the British arms in India. Russian agents had won over the Persians to their side and **Afghanistan** were now intriguing in Afghánistán, a mountainous country inhabited by scattered Aryan tribes of warlike and fanatical Mohammedans, who of old had been united under the Durání kings descended from Ahmed Sháh, the victor of Pánípat. But in 1826 the Durání line had been driven from Kábul and Kandahár, and only held its own with difficulty in western Herát. Dost Mohammed now usurped the throne of Kábul under the title of Amír. He was a man of graceful person, bold and frank manner, intelligent, brave, unscrupulous, and self-disciplined. His friendship was worth winning, but better terms turned him from the English to the Russian alliance. Auckland thereupon resolved to drive him out of his throne and restore Sháh Shujá, his rival, then an exile in British India. It was a task both dangerous and unnecessary, for the Sikh kingdom of the Punjáb and the lands of the Amírs of Sind lay between the British Indian frontier and Afghánistán. These however were won over.

In 1839 a British army marched through the Bolan Pass, captured Kandahár, stormed Ghazní, and finally took Kábul. Sháh Shujá was restored, and Dost Mohammed surrendered in despair. But even the continuance of a strong army at Kábul could not secure the throne of the new ruler, and events soon showed the folly of Auckland's opinion that his restoration was pleasing to the Afgháns. The tribes that held the passes between Kábul and the Sikh frontier cut off all communication between the garrison and India. Kábul itself rose in revolt, and Akbar Khán, Dost Mohammed's son, headed a general Afghán insurrection. The English leader, General Elphinstone, a kindly, popular old man, unable to walk from gout, and hardly able to ride, had neither energy nor spirit for his desperate work, and before long he accepted the promise of the Afgháns to allow his retreat in safety. His panicstricken and disorganised army started from their ill-defended cantonments on a difficult and dangerous journey through the defiles of the Khurd-Kábul and the Khaibar Pass to Pesháwar. But Akbar would not, or more probably could not, keep his promise, and the fierce mountaineers, lining every height, shot down the unresisting fugitives as they dragged on in helpless disorder, suffering intensely from the icy cold and deep snows of the hard Afghán winter. As they grew weaker the hillmen laid aside their matchlocks and butchered the fugitives by the score with their long deadly knives. The women and children and the leaders surrendered themselves as hostages to Akbar Khán, who treated them kindly. But the ceaseless work of destruction went on against the followers and rank and file. On the morning of 13th January 1842 a sentry from the walls of Jalálábád saw a single white man clinging wearily to the neck of a wretched tired-out pony that could hardly drag him along. It was Brydon, the sole survivor of the army of 4500 men with its 12,000 followers that had marched out of Kábul a week before.

*The Afghán
War, 1839-
1842.*

All through the winter Sale held out at Jalálábád, and Nott at Kandahár, the two Afghán posts still in British hands, for Ghazní had been recaptured and its garrison put to the sword. Next spring the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, ordered General Pollock to "evacuate Afghánistán through Kábul." Enough was now done to show the Afgháns the power of the British. Ghazní was again taken, and the gates of Sultan Mahmoud's tomb carried off as spoil to India. Akbar Khán was defeated before Kábul: the prisoners were rescued; and the English army hurried back through the scenes of last year's disaster to Pesháwar. Sháh Shujá had been murdered by his subjects, and Dost Mohammed, released from India, was restored to his old throne. The war had made no change save to show the Afghán both the power and the weakness of the British. A bombastic proclamation of Lord Ellenborough's brought a tragic war to a farcical close.

20. Ellenborough continued Governor-General until 1844. With all his vanity and love for vain show, he was a vigorous and active-minded man, bent on putting down abuses, and anxious for the credit of England. He now became involved in hostilities with the three Baluchí Amírs of Sind, the "unhappy valley" of the Lower Indus. In 1843 a war could not be

*Lord Ellen-
borough,
1842-44.*

put off, and Sir Charles Napier, an heroic, enthusiastic, and talented soldier, the foremost of a noble family, led **The Conquest of Sind 1843.** an eight-days' march through the burning desert which divided Sind from British territory. On 17th February his 2500 soldiers won the *Battle of Mian,* near Haiderabad.

"Under a heavy fire," said Napier to his troops, "you reached the bank of the river, where a hail of shields, Sindian capped and turbaned heads, and flashing scimitars spread as a sea before you, 35,000 valiant Baluchis threatening you with destruction! Then the hostile armies closed and clashed together. The dark chivalry of India burst as a thundercloud, and charging into the dry bed of the river drove the foe before them! But the British shout of battle was echoed along the line. Lines of levelled charging bayonets gleamed through the smoke, and the well-fought field was your own."

Sind was now annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and Napier as its first Commissioner laid the basis of its future prosperity. In 1843 a new *Gwalior war* brought the infant Sindhia into greater dependence on his British overlords. But in 1844 the Directors recalled Ellenborough in spite of Peel.

21. Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, a Peninsular veteran, was the next Governor-General. The great event of his rule was the *First Sikh War* of 1845. **Lord Hardinge, 1844-46.** In 1839 died Ranjít Singh, the "Lion of the Punjab," a "little, tottering, one-eyed man," who had crushed the Sikh confederacies into a well-ordered despotism, and had organised a strong, steady, and enthusiastic army of Sikh devotees, but had always kept on good terms with the English. The Punjab was thrown into confusion, and the powerful army was eager to try its strength with the power that had failed so signally in Afghanistan.

In 1845 the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej into British territory. On December 18th, Sir Hugh Gough fought with and defeated them in a fierce struggle at *Mudki*. He then advanced against their fortified camp at *Firozshahr*, which he stormed with great loss. The Sikhs now recrossed the Sutlej, but before long they were again over the river. On 28th January 1846 Sir Harry Smith won the victory of *Aliwal*, and, joining forces with Gough his chief, the united army stormed and carried the Sikh entrenched camp at *Sobraon* on 10th February. Never were harder fought battles in India, and seldom had the English so nearly an equality of numbers as with their gallant enemy. But the struggle was now over. The capture of *Sobraon* opened the passage of the Sutlej to the victors, and the Sikhs, seeing their enemy in full march on Lahore, sent in their unwilling submission.

By the treaty which followed a tract of land was ceded to the British, a war indemnity paid, and the Sikh army

reduced. The infant Maharájá Dhulíp Singh, son of Ranjít, was recognised as ruler of the Punjáb under his mother's regency, but Major Henry Lawrence, the noble brother of John Lawrence, was appointed Resident at Lahore. Before long, however, the Regent's rule working badly, further powers were extended to Lawrence.

22. From 1848 to 1856 India was ruled by the Earl of Dalhousie, whose government proved more eventful than any since the days of Wellesley, both as Lord Dalhousie, 1848-56. regards extension of territory and internal progress. His first great difficulty was a great revolt in the Punjáb. The high-spirited Sikhs had borne with the utmost impatience the loss of their independence, and cried violently against the treachery which, they thought, had undone the valour of their armies. The murder Second Sikh War, 1848-49. of two officers, Agnew and Anderson, at Múltán was the prelude to a general rising.

The English were not ready to fight in the hot season, and the Punjáb fell away. On 13th January 1849 Gough fought the *battle of Chillianwála*, where the victorious march of the British force through the thick jungle was succeeded by the panic flight of the cavalry. The infantry bravely held their own, but our losses were terrible, and several guns and colours fell into Sikh hands. But on 22d February Gough won the decisive *victory of Gujráť*, though Dost Mohammed had come with his horsemen to help his old foes against the hated British.

The Punjáb was now annexed, and the energy of Dalhousie, well seconded by Henry and John Lawrence, built up the "non-regulation system" Annexation of the Punjáb, 1849. of mixed military and civil rulers for its administration.

In 1852 was fought the *Second Burmese War*, springing from the bad treatment of some of our merchants at Rangoon, and resulting in the *annexation of Pegu* or Lower Burma, including the great trading station of Rangoon. Second Burmese War, 1852.

More characteristic of Dalhousie's rule was the wholesale annexation of protected states. Disregarding as a solemn deceit the universally recognised Hindú custom of adoption, he laid down his famous "doctrine of lapse," and Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse. freely absorbed states whose rulers' bodily heirs had died out. In 1849 he seized *Sátára*, the lordship of the descendants of Sivají. In 1853 *Nágpur* was absorbed on the death of the last of the Bhonslás, and became the nucleus of the *Central Provinces*. In the same year the little Maráthá

state of Jhānsi was similarly absorbed. It was also in 1853 that the Nizām assigned over the Berars, henceforth called the "*Assigned Districts*," to the Company as the pledge for his arrears of military subsidies. In 1856 Dalhousie forcibly annexed *Oudh*, a step rendered necessary by the shameful misgovernment of the last of the Nawāb Wazīrs, since 1819 called Kings of Oudh, but in the settlement scant respect was paid to the rights of the *Tālukdārs*, a wealthy class of landed gentry. By these annexations the modern boundaries of British India were in substance attained. Moreover, many *mediatised* princes (princes who had lost their sovereign rights) were docked of their pensions or denied their old dignities, Dalhousie in particular refusing to recognise Nāna Sāhib, the adopted heir of the last of the Peshwās.

Dalhousie was as great in administration as in conquest. In Lower Burma, as in the Punjāb, his new system marks *Dalhousie's civil an epoch. He established the Public Works administration.* Department, brought in canals, roads, cheap postage and telegraphs. He founded the Indian railway system. He completed the *Ganges Canal*. He opened up the Civil Service to the competition of all British subjects, without distinction of race. He furthered education and promoted trade and commerce. But though not much over forty, his health gave way amidst his strenuous labours in an Indian climate, and in 1856 he went home to die. His policy has been severely criticised, but his annexations sprang from no mere lust of conquest, but from the overpowering necessities of the situation. Some lack of imagination and want of sympathy for Oriental methods and ideals may have existed in his strong, stern, practical mind, and the swift rush of his reforms did not always sufficiently take into account the unconquerable conservatism of India and the strength of local prejudice. His love of autocracy suffered no rivals, and his disagreement with Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sind, who, sent out by Wellington as Commander-in-chief to retrieve the disaster of Chillianwāla, and, finding the war ended, had busied himself with much-needed military reforms, led to Napier's retirement in disgust. But with all allowances Dalhousie remains among the greatest and most successful of Anglo-Indian statesmen.

23. "If mischief ever comes in India," was Napier's prediction, "it will come like a thundercloud." The new Governor-General, Lord Canning, the son of Earl Canning, 1806-62. George Canning, a reserved, clear-headed man, had been little over a year in India when a formidable mutiny

of the native army of Bengal placed British rule in India in the utmost peril. India had been stripped of English troops to carry on a little war against *Persia*, which state was again threatening Herát and ^{Causes of the Mutiny.} hearkening to Russian intrigues. The Queen's regiments sent to the Crimea had not been replaced, and the ablest English officers had been drawn from the native regiments to act as administrators of newly-annexed districts. The Bengal army had been pampered and spoiled by foolish indulgences. The high-caste Hindús declared that they were ill-treated by Canning's new enlistment orders, necessitated by the Burmese annexation and the like, which made all Indian troops liable to be sent across the "black water" of the ocean. The new Enfield rifle required greased cartridges, the end of which the soldier had to bite off before loading. But the punctilious Bráhman and bigoted Mussulman came to believe that the new ammunition was greased with the sacred fat of cows and the contaminating lard of swine. A rumour arose that the Government meant to rob the Hindú of his caste and creed. In vain explanations were given, and the greased cartridges recalled. The fears of a suspicious race were not easily allayed, and a new alarm was raised that the shiny paper of the cartridge packets owed its gloss to the same polluted source. A wild religious panic broke up the habits of years, and with reckless abandonment of professional pride and worldly prospects, to the astonishment of the oldest officers, a mutiny was skilfully and secretly planned. Mussulman and Bráhman co-operated against the English rule, and the Bengal army broke into open revolt.

On 10th May 1857 the Sepoy force at *Meerut* rose, murdered their officers, opened the jails, and marched for Delhi, where the descendant of the Mogul Emperors still reigned in mock majesty over his vast and ill-governed palace. Nearly every garrison of Northern and Central India followed the example of Meerut. The revolt assumed its worst form in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, where the whole people, led by the wronged *Tálukdars*, joined the revolted soldiers, and the English power was reduced to a few hard-beset garrisons, such as those in the Cantonments at Cawnpur and at the Residency of Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, under Henry Lawrence. The Mohammedan rebels hoped to revive the Mogul Empire. The *Mulvi* sought to restore the ancient monarchy of Oudh. The discontented Maráthás made common cause with their old Mogul enemies. Nána Sáhib declared himself the Peshwá, and headed the mutineers at *Cawnpur*, and the dispossessed Rání of Jhansi showed more than a man's courage in her efforts to win back her old dominions. The British Empire in India

The Mutiny,
1857-59.

seemed setting in fire and blood. But the Madras army, separated by language and tradition from the Bengal Sepoys, stood firm, and the tact of Governor Elphinstone saved Bombay from the imminent danger of a great Maráthá rising. Holkar and Sindhia proved true as steel, though their own soldiers deserted them for the new Peshwá and the Rání of Jhansi. The Nizám, guided by his wise prime minister, Salar Jang, never swerved from his loyalty. Lower Bengal, though disturbed, remained for the most part in British hands. Nepál, controlled by the selfish but clear-sighted Jang Bahádur, lent valuable help to the English. John Lawrence sent all his officials to help Bengal, and by his sole personal influence kept the Punjáb quiet, and was even able to enrol the warlike Sikhs, and sent them east with unheard-of rapidity under Nicholson, to pay off old scores on their Mohammedan oppressors by besieging Delhi. Amidst all the wild fear and cruel panic Canning never lost his head, and slowly but surely pushed up troops along the half-built railway to the front under General Havelock, a learned student of war, an enthusiastic soldier, and a pious Baptist. But on 27th June the Cawnpur garrison had surrendered. The men were treacherously shot down, as they were carried in boats down the Ganges, by Tantiá Topí, the Nána's only able subordinate. The women and children were butchered in cold blood when the Nána heard of Havelock's advance. Two days later Havelock occupied Cawnpur, but it was not till 25th September that he was able to relieve Lucknow, where for nearly three months the Europeans had sustained the severest of sieges behind the rude walls of the Residency, Henry Lawrence being shot in one of the earliest attacks. Even after Havelock's arrival, the English forces were so small that the Mulvi practically renewed the siege. But the worst was now over. On 19th September Delhi was at length captured by the Punjáb troops, amidst scenes of wild revenge and retaliation—the daring Hodson, a leader of irregular horse, capturing the restored Emperor's sons, who had been foremost in cruelty and treachery, and pistolling them with his own hands.

In October the new Commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), marched up from Calcutta, and rescued the Lucknow garrison in November after a hard fight. Havelock died soon after. In March 1858 Campbell finally took Lucknow town itself. Meanwhile Sir Hugh Rose started from Bombay, passed through Indore to Jhansi, and, after beating Tantiá Topí in a pitched battle, captured on 5th April the stronghold of Maráthá resistance. The daring Rání, however, won over the mutinous troops of Sindhia, and occupied Gwalior. But she soon fell in battle, leading on her forces to the fight, dressed as a man, and on 19th June Rose's *Capture of Gwalior* destroyed the last hopes of Maráthá freedom. Tantiá Topí was captured and put to death in April 1859. Nána Sáhib slunk away through Nepál and escaped. Before June 1858 Colin Campbell extinguished the last embers of the revolt in Oudh, Rohilkhand, and Behar. The pluck, daring, skill, and tenacity of the English had won them the victory in the savage struggle, carried on with the ruthless ferocity of Eastern warfare, where quarter was neither asked nor given, and the Sepoy massacres of the early mutiny were amply atoned for when captured rebels, who could not be guarded by the handful of English troops, were hanged by the hundred in cold blood, or tied by scores to the mouths of cannon and blown to pieces.

24. The mutiny sealed the fate of the East India Company, whose political power by a strange anomaly had outlived its trading days. Though useful for checking the over-zeal of aggressive Viceroys by its uniform anxiety for an unadventurous and peaceful policy, it led in many ways to divided control, and prevented direct responsibility. In 1858 the Derby Ministry carried the *India Bill* under which the great dependency has since been governed, despite the dignified protest of the Company.

End of the India Company. India under the Crown, 1858.

Byt—(1) The East India Company was dissolved. (2) The government of India was transferred to the Queen, acting through a Secretary of State for India, advised by an Indian Council of experts. (3) The local administration was put under a Viceroy, under whom all the Provinces of India, though still retaining their separate civil government, were to be placed. (4) The Company's European army was amalgamated with the Royal army, and its navy abolished. (5) The Board of Control was abolished. (6) By later Acts, 1861, non-official members were added to the Viceroy's Council, and High Courts of Justice created by the amalgamation of the old Supreme and Sudder Courts.

25. Canning appropriately became the First *Viceroy* under the new system, and on 1st November 1858 proclaimed the Queen's direct sovereignty in a great *darbâr* at Allahâbâd. A new series of economical, financial, and legal reforms brought in happily the new state of things.

Lord Canning Viceroy, 1858-62.

In 1862 Canning went home, dying within a month of his arrival in England. Lord Elgin now became Viceroy, but died in 1863, when Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence became the ruler of the Empire that more than any single man he had saved. During his government further annexations were severely discouraged, though in 1864 the *Bhutan War* involved a fresh extension of the frontier. In 1866 a terrible famine devastated Orissa. Lord Mayo now became Viceroy, and set to work with great energy to extend public works and develop the material and commercial resources of India. But his vast activity was prematurely cut off by his murder in the Andaman Islands, where he had gone on a visit to the convict settlement. Lord Northbrook now governed India from 1872 to 1876. His administration was marked by great financial changes, and by the successful grappling with a threatened famine in Bengal in 1874. In 1875 the Gâekwâr was deposed for disloyalty

Lord Elgin, 1862-63.

Sir John Lawrence, 1864-69.

Lord Mayo, 1869-72.

Lord Northbrook, 1872-76.

and maladministration, but, faithful to the new non-annexation policy, Baroda was handed on to a new infant ruler of the same stock. It was hoped by the visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1875 to develop the loyalty of the vassal princes.

26. Fresh troubles had long been brewing in Afghánistán. The death of Dost Mohammed was followed by sanguinary strife for his succession, but in 1868 his third son, Shír Alf, established himself as Amír, and in 1869 held an interview with Lord Mayo, who recognised his position but refused to support his efforts to win the succession for his favourite son, preferring, on Lawrence's principles, to leave Afghánistán to itself. Northbrook carried out the same policy, but a new school of Indian Governors had now grown up represented by Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Henry Rawlinson, who persuaded the Disraeli Government that it was of the utmost importance that English residents should be maintained in the chief Afghán cities as the best means of counteracting the intrigues of Russia, now slowly but surely conquering the brigand states of Turkeistán, and, like England, of necessity embarked on a career of Asiatic conquest. On Northbrook's resignation Disraeli sent Lord Lytton, a diplomatist, son of the brilliant and popular novelist, to India to carry out the new ideas.

Shír Alf suspected Lytton's offers of a temporary mission, and complaining that he had been wronged by the English, received a Russian embassy at Kábul, a step which gave some justification to the Viceroy's reiterated demands. The Amír's determined refusal brought about war, and Disraeli boasted that its object was a "scientific frontier," that is the Bolán, the Kuram and the Khaiber, passes, rather than the valley of the Indus. In 1878 three armies overran Afghánistán, Shír Alf fled to die in Turkeistán, and his son Yákub Khán signed the *Treaty of Gandamak*, which advanced the English frontier to the further sides of the passes, and allowed an English resident at Kábul (1879), receiving in return an English subsidy. But by surrendering to the English, Yákub Khán lost all hold of his subjects, who were above all things zealous for their independence. Within a few months a fanatical mob attacked the Residency, and murdered the envoy Sir Louis Cavagnari. General Roberts at once led a second invasion into Afghánistán, and in October occupied Kábul and deposed the Amír. But the Afghán chiefs held out at Ghazní, and Abdurrahman, a nephew and old rival of Shír Alf, now came upon the scene from his refuge in Central Asia, where he had learnt to value Russian support. A period of confusion and disorder set in. Rival chieftains fought for the Afghán throne, though all willingly combined against the English. In 1880 it was resolved to abandon Afghánistán, and a new treaty was made with Abdurrahman which quietly dropped

the offensive clauses of the treaty of Gandamak. But Abdurrahman's rival Ayúb Khán, lord of Herát, and brother of the deposed Yákub, defeated General Burrows at Maiwand, near Kandahár. Before Afghánistán could be abandoned this disaster had to be avenged. Roberts's great march from Kábul to Kandahár led to the temporary defeat of Ayúb. The English troops then withdrew. Afghánistán was now the prey of civil war between Ayúb and Abdurrahman, but, after a hot struggle, Abdurrahman drove out his rival, and has since reigned as undisputed Amír. The only chance of a united Afghánistán, strong enough to prove an efficient barrier to Russia, would have been destroyed had the policy of interference been persisted in. But the hesitation in England between the two policies and their alternate prevalence was ominous as to the result of the growing influence of English party struggles in India.

27. In 1877 Lytton had heralded the new forward policy by the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India at Delhi. In the very same year a severe famine cut off over 5,000,000 souls in Southern India. In 1880 Lytton resigned with the Conservatives, and the Marquis of Ripon succeeded him as a Liberal Viceroy. Besides the abandonment of Afghánistán, Ripon's government was marked by the restoration of Mysore to its native Rájá, by unbroken peace and great internal changes. The miserable vernacular press was allowed a liberty that quickly became licence. Local self-government was widely extended, even to country districts, always to the disadvantage of local administration. Important steps were taken towards extending education, developing agriculture, and reforming the land revenue so as to secure the cultivator the fruits of his industry both against the state and the Zamíndárs.

In 1884 Lord Dufferin succeeded Ripon. The great event of his government was the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, a step rendered necessary by the mad tyranny of King Thebau. In 1888 Lord Dufferin returned to England, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who remained in India until 1893, when he was followed as Viceroy by the Earl of Elgin, (son of the Lord Elgin who was governor in 1862-3), whose term of office lasted until 1898. It was a period of many troubles. Under Lord Lansdowne, the sphere of British influence had been extended amidst the wild mountains of the north-west frontier, inhabited by savage and warlike tribes, yet the only barrier between the advancing outposts of Russia and our Indian possessions.

Marquis of
Ripon, 1880-84.

Lord Dufferin,
1884-88.

Marquis of
Lansdowne,
1888-1893.

Lord Elgin,
1893-1898.

In 1895 a rising in Chitral, one of these States, against a ruler set up by ourselves, led to the long siege of the British resident in Chitral by the revolted tribesmen, until at last the fort was relieved by an admirably planned and gallantly led expedition of considerable size. The result was the retention of English rule in Chitral. But after two years of apparent quiet, the unrest among the north-western tribes came to a head in a general revolt along the whole border (1897). The fanatical hillmen, conspicuous among whom were the *Afridis*, blocked up the chief passes and ravaged the frontier districts. So threatening did they become that a force of over 60,000 was gathered together to oppose them. But the extraordinary difficulty of the country made the progress of even this great army slow, and it was not until 1898 that the tribes generally made their submission. The friendship of Afghanistan, preserved almost intact amidst exceptionally trying conditions for the Amír, was however a real help in localising the struggle. And even before the war the successful delimitation of the boundaries of Russia, India and Afghanistan, carried out by the agreement of the governments, lessened the dangers involved in similar outbreaks in the future. About the same time a source of long-standing difficulty with France was ended by a treaty which neutralised what remained of the kingdom of Siam, and fixed the river Mekong as the boundary between the English and French spheres of influence in Further India. The external troubles of India were farther complicated by a severe famine in 1897, and by the outbreak of plague in Bombay and other western districts of India, where with occasional abatements, it has been going on ever since. The outcry raised in the wretched native press against the measures taken to isolate the disease led to a salutary extension of the law against sedition. In 1898 Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, who remained governor for the rest of the Queen's reign. In 1899 and 1900 an exceptionally terrible famine desolated large tracts of India.

Chitral, 1895.

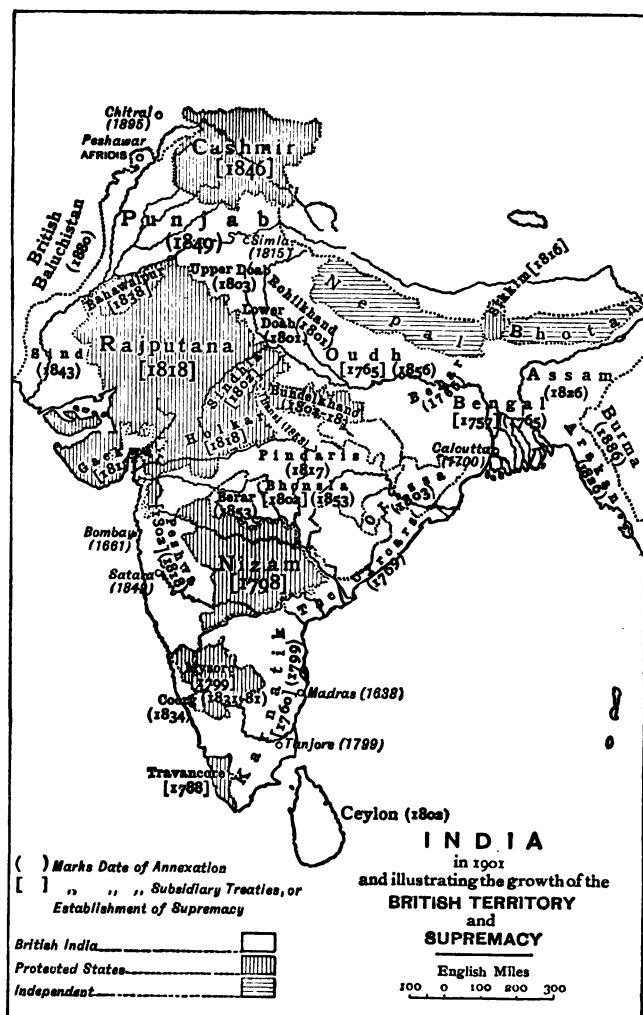
The North-Western War, 1897-98.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, 1898-1901.

28. At the end of the nineteenth century, British India consisted of about 250 *Districts*, each under a *Collector-Magistrate* (Regulation District) or *Deputy Commissioner* (Non-Regulation District). Except in Madras these Districts are grouped into *Divisions* under a *Commissioner*. The highest unit of government is the *Pro-*

India in 1900.

vince, including the old *Presidencies* of Madras and Bombay (each with a *Governor* sent from England, and, until a few years ago, a separate army) and the other Provinces, more directly under the *Viceroy*, who is however supreme everywhere. These are Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab (each ruled by a *Lieutenant-Governor*), and Assam, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Burma (each under a *Chief Commissioner*) together with some smaller irregular districts, under *Commissioners*. In 1901 these regions were inhabited by 232,000,000 inhabitants, while 62,000,000 more dwell in the protected states. This enormous mass of human beings now enjoys a peace and material prosperity such as was never known in India before. A noble series of public works, railways, roads, canals, bridges, have brought districts together, opened up new trade routes, and given means for warring against bad crops and famine. Great irrigation schemes have made the harvests more regular and the fields more fertile. Population, of course, grows with great rapidity, now that the old checks of war, pestilence, famine, widow-seclusion, and child-murder are comparatively weak in their operation. Manufactures, however, are springing up to take away some of the surplus population from the soil, and in the great industrial cities of modern India the stationary stage of civilisation has almost been outgrown. Bombay, with its cotton-mills, is becoming an Indian Manchester, and the jute factories of Calcutta bid fair to rival Dundee. The coal-mines of Rániganj supply Bengal with fuel. But the mass of the population still live their old life, tilling the soil, and worshipping their gods as their fathers have done, untouched by the marks of busy Western life around them, though India is now finding a market in Europe for her wheat and cotton, and cultivating fresh articles such as tea for the same markets. Nothing is more wonderful than the constant contrast of old and new, east and west, which British India presents. We must go back to the eastern parts of the old Roman Empire in its palmy days to find its like. The conquest of India is one of the greatest achievements of Englishmen. Its government by them is still more creditable and wonderful.



CHAPTER II.

The New Colonial Empire, 1763-1901.

1. The old Colonial Empire of England reached its greatest prosperity with the Peace of Paris in 1763. England was now supreme over North America, and had won so many West Indian islands that the French possessions sank into insignificance. In South America its dependency Portugal ruled over the Brazils. In the East the French had been driven out and the Dutch traded on sufferance. In East and West alike the Spaniards trembled lest they should be overthrown by the pushing heretics from the North. But few Englishmen, and no English statesman save Chatham, realised the new responsibilities that the increased growth and prosperity of the Colonies brought upon the mother-country. Though the Colonies were as free as they could be politically, the old notion that colonies existed only for the good of England, as farms to be worked for its benefit, found an expression in the trading system which checked the development of the young communities. Increasing colonial wealth and strength only led to a desire to interfere still more, since so much more was now to be got from interference. Thus the Home Government grew stricter, while the Colonies became resentful, angry, hostile. England's old rivals eagerly profited by the discord between Old and New England. The result was the American War, the Independence of the Thirteen Colonies, the splitting of the British race in twain, and the surrender of some of Pitt's new conquests by the disastrous Treaty of Versailles. Never was there a greater contrast than between 1763 and 1783. The old colonies fell away; and the system of monopoly and protection on which the old Empire was based received its deathblow. The old channels of trade were rudely diverted, and the old ideas of colonial government roughly overthrown. The Whig reformers even got rid of the Colonial Secretaryship as a useless and superfluous office.

Contrast between
1763 and 1783.
Fall of the old
Colonial Empire.

2. Fragments of the old Empire remained British. In

North America the former French colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward's Island, and the valuable fishing-stations of bleak, barren Newfoundland still claved to English rule. A large immigration of faithful and persecuted loyalists from the United States replaced the outcast Acadians in Nova Scotia, and began to form a thoroughly English *Upper Canada* on the northern shores of Lake Ontario. In 1774 Lord North had wisely passed the *Quebec Act*, which left the French Canadians their law, church, aristocracy, and government. The new Canadians of English race soon began to grumble at the despotic rule of the Crown and the prevalence of French ways and Popery. In 1791 Pitt met them half way by the *Constitution Act*, which divided the land into two parts, the Ottawa river separating English *Upper Canada* from French *Lower Canada*. By giving each Province a *Representative Assembly*, elected by the people, Pitt sowed the first seeds of Canadian liberty. But the *Governor* and the *Executive Council* were independent of parliamentary votes, and looked only to the Home Ministry and the Crown for guidance. Fierce hostility grew up between the two races, and the French colonist's love of old ways was bitterly resented by the pushing English minority now found even in the Lower Province. Upper Canada now made great strides forward, and her lumber trade in yellow pine, stimulated by the Protective laws with which England helped forward the infant resources of her colonies, soon supplanted the forests of Norway in the English timber market. During the reign of George III. legislative assemblies of the Canadian fashion were gradually granted to all the other North American colonies, except Newfoundland, whose scanty population of wandering fishermen was not entrusted with elective rights until 1833, when a settled folk had grown up round the coast. But as yet British North America was but beginning its new way of life. Its great importance was altogether in the future. The English population was still small, and the French, though clever trappers and hunters, and thrifty, peaceful farmers, had none of the nervous go-ahead ways that hurry on the material progress of a new country.

After 1783 the West Indian Colonies were universally looked upon as the greatest glory of the British Empire. Besides our original settlements, Barbados (1625), Nevis

The English
Colonies after
1783.

Canada and its
neighbour
Colonies,
1774-1833.

(1628), the Bahamas (1629), and Montserrat (1632), there was the mighty island of Jamaica, which, with the Virgin Islands, Anguilla and Antigua, remained as *The West Indies*, results of the new wave of colonial enterprise 1782-93. which Cromwell had begun and Charles II. carried on. St. Kitts, partly English since 1625, became wholly English in 1702. Grenada and the Grenadines were yielded up by France in 1763. The mahogany cutters of Honduras now had a recognised right to their position. Of the four islands, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago, which, disputed till 1748, were declared neutral by the Treaty of Aachen, England now only held two of the three ceded in 1763, Dominica and St. Vincent, for Tobago remained in French hands, as the only lasting fruit of De Grasse's brilliant career of conquest. *Jamaica*, the largest, and *Barbados*, the richest and most densely populated, were each governed separately. The rest, excluding the unimportant and distant *Bahamas*, were for most purposes divided into two groups, the *Leeward Islands*, looking north-east, and including all as far south as Dominica, and the *Windward Islands*, beyond them, looking south-east. All were now very prosperous. The planter aristocracy was so wealthy that many English capitalists invested in West Indian estates, and, even as absentees, won a good return for their money, and kept up constant dealings between colony and mother-country. The restrictions of the Navigation Act were no burden to a class that sought no maritime commerce, and got its flour, pork, and lumber, without much trouble, from North America. English ships conveyed to Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow the sugar, rum, and treacle of the islanders, where they found a ready market. The system of kidnapping poor helpless folk, and the plan of sending out as white-slaves convicts, debtors, and paupers, were now at an end, and the planters, who disliked the settlement of poor whites, fell back more and more on the labour of their negro slaves, who, after 1713, could be bought cheaply from the monopolist English merchants. The better planters treated their human property kindly enough, as good masters treat their horses, but they put down all attempts at revolt with unspeakable brutality, and denied the negro all taste of civilisation or Christianity, lest he became discontented with his hopeless and aimless life of toil. The planters had in their own hands the government of the colonies, through local assemblies, and except that they paid a heavy tribute,

which they could afford, they were as free from English control as Virginia had been. But there was still danger from France, and the ever-present fear of a black revolt in a region where burning suns and yellow fever, even more than planter policy, discouraged European settlements. There was therefore no danger of a cry for separation, even if after 1783 England had not been more careful not to give offence, and more watchful of the beginnings of insubordination. But the wonderful prosperity of the West Indies was based on slavery and monopoly, and new and strange teachings were already heard in the distance, threatening an end to both.

Between 1787 and 1791 Granville Sharp and the Abolitionists started in Western Africa, where the English African Company had held a few trading stations since the days of Elizabeth, the colony of *Sierra Leone* for free negroes. The Indian Company's victualling station of *St. Helena*, a remote island in the Southern Atlantic, and the *Bermudas* (1612), now more important than ever as a naval position, completed, with the Gibraltar Rock (1704), the foreign possessions of England. They were hardly more colonies than India itself.

3. Gallant explorers and travellers were now wandering through the unknown parts of the earth, and preparing the way for British enterprise and settlement. The history of eighteenth century travel supplies the heroic element that European history then so signally lacked. Anson's famous voyage between 1740 and 1744 had done something to open out the dimly-known lands of the Pacific. Captain Cook now stood forth as the Columbus of a new continent and a new island-studded ocean.

James Cook (1728-1779) was the son of a Cleveland labourer. Joining the royal navy, he worked his way up from before the mast, and commanded a sloop *Cook's Voyages*, 1768-79. at Wolfe's siege of Quebec. In 1768 he went on his *first voyage* to the Pacific to observe the transit of Venus. He took the good chance offered him of getting clear knowledge of the misty island of New Holland, dimly revealed by early Dutch navigators, and Captain William Dampier (1652-1715). Cook coasted all along Eastern Australia, which he called New South Wales, because he thought the hills of the coast looked like the Glamorganshire hills that he saw when sailing up the Bristol Channel. He also practically discovered New Zealand. He came back in 1771. His *second expedition* (1772-1775) was sent out to find the sup-

posed Southern Continent, to which the name Australia then applied, and which was thought to extend northwards from the Pole. His Antarctic voyage proved that this Australia was non-existent or uninhabitable, and led to a vast extension of men's knowledge of the South Pacific. His *third voyage* (1776-1779) was an attempt to approach the North-West Passage from the Pacific side. Again he failed in an impossible quest, but he now laid down clearly the island groups of the North Pacific, and discovered the Sandwich Islands, where he was killed by the natives. Patience, boldness, accuracy and foresight, care for his seamen, strict honour and high-minded conduct ennoble the whole of his great career.

Cook opened up a new era of discovery and travel, in which Englishmen took a very prominent part. Flinders, Bass, and Murray carried on his work of surveying Australia, a name now transferred from the shadowy ^{Australian} Southern Continent of theorists to the real ^{Travel.} island continent of New Holland. The survey of its coasts was completed by the *Beagle* (1837-43), in the famous exploring voyage which taught Charles Darwin to look upon nature in a new light. In a later generation Sturt, Stuart, Burke, Wills, and Gregory opened up the interior.

Other discoverers now began to travel in the dark regions of Central Africa, led by James Bruce, the Abyssinian explorer (1770-1774) and Mungo Park (1795-1797), who found out the Niger, and perished in a second ^{African} expedition in 1805. ^{Discovery.} Missionaries, traders, men of science, and adventurers have been all working ever since to get a clear knowledge of the unknown continent. For thirty years David Livingstone, an undaunted and shrewd Scottish missionary, laboured systematically at the exploration of the south, and prepared the way for successors as devoted as himself. In 1857 the new quest for the sources of the Nile was opened by Burton (who has since earned fame as a scholar, linguist, and poet) and Speke. Their labours, together with those of Grant, Baker, Stanley, and others, have now made clear this ancient mystery.

In 1773 Phipps began the modern series of expeditions to the frozen Arctic regions, and in 1806 Scoresby, the scientific and energetic mate of a Hull whaler, got within 500 miles of the North Pole. After ^{Polar Voyages.} a long series of failures Captain Parry started in 1827 with the *Hecla*, and worked his way further than had been gone before on the North-West-Passage, now clearly seen to be

useless for trade and navigation. In 1845 Sir John Franklin sailed with the *Erebus* and *Terror* on the fatal Arctic voyage from which he never returned. A series of expeditions in search of him was at last crowned with a melancholy success by M'Clintock setting his fate beyond a doubt. In the still more inhospitable regions of the South Pole, the chief explorer was Ross, who in three voyages between 1841 and 1843 did most of what has been done to explore what still remains the least known region of the globe. But Arctic exploration has destroyed the hopes of the trader, and has but little satisfied the man of science.

The great wave of missionary enterprise which set in with the Evangelical movement, besides its own proper results, did much to extend our knowledge and stimulate patient **Missionary and Scientific travel.** heroism. The brave deeds of travellers for the Gospel's sake are well brought out in the death of John Williams, martyred in 1839, at Erromanga, the slaying of Bishop Patteson, in 1871, by Melanesian islanders, in revenge for the atrocities of the kidnappers, in the whole career of Livingstone, and in the pains and troubles of the Central African Mission which has followed in his footsteps. The fortunes of travel for science' sake can best be followed in the labours of Sir Joseph Banks, the botanist, and companion of Cook, in Darwin's epoch-making voyage in the *Beagle*, Bates' work on the Amazon, Wallace's explorations in Malaya, and the more recent expedition of the *Challenger*. The labours of a century of earnest and self-sacrificing explorers were the best basis for the new Colonial Empire that sprang from the work of the luckiest and most gifted of them, besides increasing knowledge, spreading civilisation, and opening up new avenues of trade.

4. When America was lost to England, a few far-sighted men turned to Australia, now better known through Cook's favourable reports. "I am going to offer an object to the consideration of our Government," wrote one of these, **Beginnings of Australian Settlement, 1788.** "which may in time atone for the loss of our American Colonies. With good management and a few settlers in twenty or thirty years they might cause a revolution in the system of European commerce, and secure England a monopoly of some part of it, and a very large share of the whole." His plan was to settle New South Wales, hoping to find there an asylum for the American loyalists as well as for the teeming and poverty-stricken population of England itself. A special inducement was

that the new colony would be a good place for shipping off the convicts previously sent to America, and now shut up uselessly in hulks, and even sent to perish miserably in the unwholesome regions of Western Africa. Sir Joseph Banks strongly recommended *Botany Bay*, an inlet of New South Wales, so named by him and Cook from the richness of its plants and flowers. Lord Sydney, the Home Secretary, took the matter up, and Pitt interested himself warmly in it. Public opinion was a little stirred, and a doggerel rhyme in a newspaper of the day has a curious prophetic ring about it :—

"Let no one think much of a trifling expense,
Who knows what may happen a hundred years hence?
The loss of America who can repay?
New Colonies seek then at Botany Bay."

In 1787 Captain Phillip was sent out with several shiploads of convicts to prepare the way for the new colony. On 26th January 1788 he landed at *Port Jackson*, a noble series of harbours to the north of Botany Bay, which on experience he found to be less suitable for his settlement. On the shores of Port Jackson soon rose a little village of convicts' huts named Sydney, after the minister that furthered the venture. But for many years *New South Wales* languished. None but convicts were sent there, and the infant colony suffered severely from famine, and got a very bad name from the wild disorders of its vicious and ignorant population. The outbreak of the great wars against France soon turned English energies into other channels. Yet a beginning had been made of another New England in the Antipodes.

5. The two great wars against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France brought back to England a colonial supremacy wider than ever dreamed of by Chatham. The French West Indies fell twice into British hands, and Tobago was definitely restored to England in 1802. The Danish, Swedish, and Dutch Islands were held from 1801 to 1802, and from 1807 to 1814. Trinidad was wrested from Spain and confirmed to England by the Treaty of Amiens. Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were taken from the Dutch in 1804, and never restored, becoming henceforward known as British Guiana. Cape Colony was finally occupied in 1806, and ceded in 1814. Mauritius became English in 1810, though Bourbon, taken at the same time, was restored

Colonial
Expansion
during the
French Wars,
1793-1815.

at the peace. The Dutch coast settlements in Ceylon were ceded in 1802, and the whole island became British by the defeat of the native king of Candy in 1815. France was not left with a single colony, except those which the magnanimity of England restored in 1814. The Dutch then got back the Spice Islands and Java, but they paid a heavy price for their association with France in the loss of part of Guiana, the Cape, and Ceylon.

6. The new colonies were not all clear gain. Except the Cape, which was as yet of little importance, they were all of the hot tropical sort, where the English would only live as a leisurely property-holding class, and they increased the difficulties which the slave question now brought forward. The republican energy and enthusiasm of France had spread to her colonies, and the "coloured" men of mixed descent had become hot disciples of Rousseau, and strong upholders of a fraternity that knew no distinction of race and colour. Hayti, the greatest of the French West Indies, had been too large for English conquest, and, throwing off the planter yoke, became a black republic, which has ever since presented a hideous travesty of French civilisation. The *Maroons* of Jamaica rose in fierce outbreaks in sympathy with the Haytians. The frightened planters became more brutal and severe to their wretched slaves. Their main supply of cheap labour was cut off when the slave-trade was made felony. The return of peace found that Europe had learnt to make sugar from beetroot and coffee from chicory, so that the demand for West Indian produce began to fall off. A fresh blow to the planters came when the Reformed Parliament abolished negro slavery in 1834. Twenty millions of compensation seemed generous to English eyes, but it was very little to the ruined planters, whose free labourers now refused to work more than they chose, and "squatted" on small patches of garden ground, where the bounty of sun and soil gave them enough for their simple wants, preferring to live an idle, happy, helpless animal existence to working hard for comforts and rewards they were quite contented to do without. Only in Barbados, where the dense population prevented squatting, and made the negroes work or starve, did any prosperity continue. Jamaica lost ground terribly, for her large unoccupied tracts gave plenty of room for her negroes to settle down in happy sloth. Guiana and Trinidad kept up some show of success by importing *coolies* from

Decay of the
West Indies,
1815-49.

the hills of India to do the work the negroes refused. But political difficulties now broke out with the blacks, who by force of numbers began to carry everything before them, so that many of the colonies in despair surrendered their constitutions, and put themselves under the despotic rule of the Crown, as the best thing under the circumstances. The more vigorous of the white population drifted away. The negroes still remained troublesome, and in 1865 a black revolt in Jamaica was only repressed by the stern and successful, but perhaps too indiscriminate, severity of Governor Eyre. But before this a blow heavier even than the emancipation of the negro had fallen upon the West Indies. For a time the system of *differential duties*, which let in our colonial products at cheaper custom rates than those from foreign countries, kept up a faint gleam of prosperity. But free trade in sugar came in with free trade in corn (1846), and cut off the last hope. Slave-grown sugar from foreign parts crowded out the free sugar of the British Indies, until the bounty system of Europe drove out both alike, in favour of the beet sugar of France and Germany. The result has been the economic ruin of the West Indies. Yet even in their decay they remain magnificent monuments of their former greatness. Their fall marks another step in the decay of the old Colonial theories which finally disappeared with the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849. Propped up by monopoly and slave labour, they could not hold their own in the harder struggle that set in with free competition in trade and industry. Yet we may well regret their fall, and welcome any faint gleams of returning prosperity which show that their decline will at least go no further.

7. As the tropical sugar colonies fell back, the colonies in temperate climates, with a population largely or altogether European, came into greater importance. This made it easier for the new colonial ^{The new} Colonial Policy. policy to be adopted, which marks the beginning of the present reign. The growth of population, the irregularity of employment, and the lowness of wages, which led to the social and political disturbances of the first forty years of the century, turned thoughtful men to the question of emigration. It was seen that something more ought to be done than "shovel out" convicts to New South Wales, and paupers to Canada. Steps were taken to encourage active and helpful citizens to seek a new home and fortune in the vast tracts of unoccupied territory over which the British flag now waved. Grants of free lands were now offered to

any respectable settler; but the plan was not found to work, for the uncleared plots of virgin forest or bush were of very little use to the poor and ignorant colonist, who was led by the system to dwell in soul-destroying isolation from his neighbours, far away from all markets, and all means of improvement. In 1829, the brilliant, graphic, far-seeing Edward Gibbon Wakefield wrote, in the prison into which his daring and lawless deeds had cast him, a striking epoch-making pamphlet against the prevailing methods. Wake-

Wakefield's
System of
Colonisation,
1829.

field taught that a colony should, so far as might be, reproduce the state of society in the mother-country. Land should not be given away in huge lots, but sold in small parcels, and the proceeds turned to improving the means of communication, providing the accessories and aids to cultivation and improvement, and promoting fresh immigration. Towns should be set up to provide markets, and stimulate trade. The result was that a *Colonisation Society* was started in 1830, and a new era in Australian progress sets in with the establishment of fresh colonies professedly based on Wakefield's system.

The Colonies grew larger and stronger as the stream of emigration flowed with ever-increasing rapidity from the mother-country. One result sprang immediately from this. Large masses of Englishmen, freer and more unconventional in their ways than those left at home, would never be satisfied with anything but the fullest rights of self-government. There was now no wish to withstand such demands at home, for public opinion was very careless about colonial questions altogether, and more thoughtful men generally believed that when colonies got strong enough, they would naturally fall away from the mother-country, like America, and took no pains to prevent such a result. The doctrine first taught in Revolutionary France that colonies were parts of the mother-country found no echo in the England of this period. It was an age of economists and *laissez-faire*, deaf to all higher notions of an Imperial Britain. But it did the right thing in gracefully yielding the demands of the colonies, though it thought that in doing so it was simply ripening them for independence. The first step was to grant a *local Legislative Council*, such as Canada got in 1791. In Australia, the way to this was through *nominee Councils*, such as that established in 1828 in New South Wales. In 1840 two-thirds of the Council of that colony were chosen by popular election. For a time the government remained

independent of the Assembly. But then came the final step of granting *responsible government*—by making the executive depend on the legislative. This process was completed in Australia in 1856. The result was virtual independence, for the only link now was the Governor, who, appointed by the Crown, reigned, but did not govern. The wise appellate right of the English Privy Council was the only other thing that connected the Colonies and mother-country, save common citizenship, common traditions, and common love for English ways. The freedom which the American plantations had enjoyed since the seventeenth century was thus extended to the new colonies. But the commercial dependence which had tightly bound the old colonies, and which America had felt too grievous to be borne, was now entirely removed, as the new free-trade system was incompatible with all commercial monopoly. In a later generation, the Colonies, in many cases, set up protective laws of their own, which have powerfully helped on their infant industries, often to the loss of those of England. British troops were at last removed, and the work of self-defence was intrusted to the colonists themselves. The mother-country carried out a more constructive task in urging on the confederation of neighbouring colonies with each other. But of late years the idea has been slowly gaining ground of joining Colonies and mother-country together in a wider scheme of Imperial Federation.

The modern Colonial Empire falls into three great groups—North America, Australia, and South Africa. We can best follow their history by taking each group in turn, and seeing how it has fared since the introduction of the new colonial system.

8. During the first third of the nineteenth century affairs got worse and worse in *Canada*. The popular Legislative Councils constantly quarrelled with the Govern- North American Colonies. ments responsible to England, and the increase of the English element embittered the feud of the two Provinces and the two races. The American War between 1812 and 1815 brought the provinces together for a time, to repel gallantly and successfully the invaders from the United States. But after the Peace of Ghent things went back to the old ways, and the French Canadians, led by Papineau, stopped the supplies and drew up a list of ninety-two grievances. In 1837 discontent grew into revolt, The Rebellion of 1837, and Lord Durham. which even extended to the Upper Province, which had grievances of its own, and contained a party that sought annexation to the American Union.

But the risings were quashed, the country was put under martial law, and Lord Durham, the strong-willed, vigorous Radical, was sent out in 1838 to organise a new government.

Canadian Unity
and Independ-
ence, 1840.

By his advice the two Canadas were joined together in 1840, with a Parliament of two Chambers, the Upper House consisting of life members, and the Lower House chosen in equal proportions from the two Provinces. This meant the subordination of the French majority to the English minority, but as a counter-concession the Executive Ministry was made directly responsible to the Canadian Parliament. As time went on the English got more numerous; though the French still clung strongly to their national laws and customs, and the system of union proved a dead failure. Yet the grant of virtual independence led to a further development of the Canadas. A fresh step was taken during the governorship of Lord Elgin (1847-1854), who joined with the Canadian Liberals in transferring the Crown and Church lands to the peasantry, abolishing the feudal rights of the French *seigneurs*, improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence, opening up roads, railways, telegraphs, and canals, and concluding a *Commercial Treaty* with the United States. An attempt was made by the Canadian Conservatives to get the *Indemnity Act*, passed in favour of the rebels of 1837, rescinded by the Home Government, but Parliament refused to interfere. It was the last time any attempt was made to check the independence of Canada.

The Canadian Conservatives now accepted the democratic system, against which they had contended for so long, and were joined by the more moderate Liberals, while the *Clear-grits* or extreme Radicals clamoured for annexation to the States. But the greatest difficulty still remained with the French, and deadlocks and disputes sapped the energies of the colony for nearly thirty years. At last in 1861 the Civil War in the United States burst out, and made every Canadian feel keenly the divided and defenceless state of British North America. The commercial treaty with the United States lapsed, and the Fenian invasions of 1866 revealed a new danger. The result was that the plans for joining together the scattered colonies in a common dominion, which had, hitherto, been started with little enthusiasm, came within the region of practical politics. In 1867 negotiations were completed, Sir John Macdonald, the Conservative leader, representing Canada, while Lord Carnarvon acted as Colonial Secretary.

The *Dominion of Canada* was now formed under a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, and with a constitution similar in essentials to that of England, with the large modifications made necessary by the acceptance of Federalism. The government was to be carried on by a *Cabinet* responsible to a *Parliament* of two houses, of which the *House of Commons* was elected by a liberal suffrage, and the *Senate* consisted of members chosen for life. The *Federal principle*, as in the United States, allowed a full measure of Home Rule to the various *Provinces*, each of which now possessed its separate local Parliament and Executive. The union of the two Canadas was given up as hopeless, and French Canada, as the new Province of *Quebec*, and English Canada as the Province of *Ontario*, progressed much quicker after their ill-matched elements were kept apart. *Nova Scotia* and *New Brunswick* at once joined the Union. In 1870, *Manitoba*, the rough western region which the growth of the corn trade was soon making important, became a new Province, the defeat of the revolt of the French half-breeds under Louis Riel by Wolseley having practically settled its future as English and not French. In 1871 *British Columbia*, the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific (including Vancouver's Island), which had become important since gold discoveries in 1858, also fell in on the condition of a railway being built to join them with the eastern colonies. In 1872 *Prince Edward's Island* was included, so that Newfoundland alone stood outside the Dominion. Sir John Macdonald became Conservative Premier of the Dominion, and though defeated in 1873 by Mackenzie, got back into office in 1878, and brought in higher customs duties to protect Canada against the United States and Europe. In 1885 the *Canadian Pacific Railway* was opened between Canada and British Columbia, so that an unbroken railway route was established between Halifax and the Pacific coast. In the same year Riel's second rising was put down, and its leader executed. The Dominion, despite great difficulties, proved a magnificent success. In 1897 it contained about five million and a quarter inhabitants. Its development has been most rapid in the great wheat-growing plains of Manitoba. Of recent years the discovery of gold mines at *Klondyke* and other remote regions in the extreme north-west, on the borders of Alaska, has attracted crowds of adventurers to desolate and hitherto uninhabited regions stretching almost to the Arctic circle.

9. The Australian Colonies have shown a still more remarkable development. The early struggles of the convict settlement of *New South Wales* were over when in 1813 the energy and resourcefulness of Governor Macquarie led to the discovery of the fertile pastures beyond the Blue Mountains. Captain MacArthur got together the first flock of sheep from the Cape. Sheep-farming now became a great industry, and the wool and tallow fetched a ready market even though the carcasses of the sheep were as yet of little value as food. Free labour now came in, and sheep-owners 'squatted' on vast sheep-runs, and soon became wealthy. Under Governors Brisbane and Darling, the growth of Wakefield's ideas led to a restriction being put on the grants of free land, and the direct encouragement of free emigration. New colonies now grew up. The town of *Brisbane*, named after the Governor, was started as a penal colony in 1826, and after 1842 became the nucleus of a free settlement in the hot but genial regions to the north, where a new settlement of sugar, wine, tobacco, and cotton growers grew up, with the aid of Kanaka (South Sea Island) labour. In 1859 this became the separate colony of *Queensland*.

In 1829 a settlement was formed on the *Swan River* in *Western Australia*, which after a languishing existence, during which convict labour (transportation hither went on till 1868) alone saved it from extinction, became strong enough to receive a constitution, and has recently grown enormously by reason of the discovery of rich gold-fields. In 1890 it received responsible government like the older Australian colonies.

In 1803 a convict station was formed at *Port Phillip* on the southern coast, but next year it crossed over to Van Diemen's Land. In 1835, however, another settlement was made which gradually became the centre of another great colony. In 1837 the town of *Melbourne* was founded and named after the then Prime Minister, while the land itself gradually dropped its old name of *Australia Felix*, and became in 1851 the independent colony of *Victoria*.

To the south of Victoria the large island of *Van Diemen's Land*, afterwards called *Tasmania*, became in 1804 a convict settlement. In 1816 free settlers began to come in. In 1856 it became a separate colony with a popular government, having a climate very

much like that of England, though less attractive in other ways than some of its neighbours.

Wakefield's theories now found a practical application in *South Australia*, where in 1836 the South Australian Company that he had founded started a new free settlement, with *Adelaide*, named from the Queen of William IV., as its capital. But it languished for a long time, and after a period of speculation the colony went bankrupt in 1840, partly because the Wakefield system was pushed forward in too narrow a way, though it soon recovered itself, and with its copper-mines and fine corn-lands is now increasingly prosperous.

In 1837 the *New Zealand Association* was started on Wakefield's plan, and New Zealand was settled in 1839 as a dependency of New South Wales. In 1841 the three islands became an independent colony with *Auckland* as their capital. But they had a great difficulty, especially in North Island, with the fierce, strong, and intelligent natives called *Maoris*, who were made of much sterner stuff than the weakly and archaic aboriginals of Australia. Wakefield's fertile brain here hit on the notion of sending out separate colonies, each professing the same religious belief. In 1848 he settled Scotch Presbyterians in *Otago*, and in 1850 Church of England colonists in *Canterbury*, while English Nonconformists were gathered together at *New Plymouth*. The result was that nine separate colonies gradually grew up in New Zealand, whose scattered and divided governments soon proved most burdensome and unsatisfactory, though there was a separate central government as well. At last in 1875, after a hot struggle, the provinces were abolished, and New Zealand became a single colony, which has since grown rapidly, though sometimes, like other young peoples, trusting so completely to its future development as to plan vast and costly works, and saddling itself with a large debt, which, with its present resources, is a somewhat heavy burden.

The growth of free settlement made it impossible to keep up the military government of the days of the convict establishments. The free inhabitants loudly demanded self-government, and some even sought to give the *emancipists*, or convicts on leave, the rights of citizenship. But the cry was now against transportation altogether, and after 1840 no more criminals were "shovelled" into New South Wales, though transportation thither was not formally abolished till 1853. Con-

South
Australia,
1836-40.

New Zealand,
1839-75.

Independence
granted to
Australia,
1850-56.

stitutional rule now bit by bit replaced martial law. A Council was set up by Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, when Darling was Governor, in 1842. In 1850 the *Australian Government Act* was passed empowering the Home ministers to give Councils to the other colonies, and allowing the Councils, with the assent of the Crown, to alter their own constitution. To these bodies the government lands were altogether transferred, and they soon began to use their powers by making their constitution more democratic. This had hardly been done when the discovery of gold in Victoria (1851) brought about a new era of wild excitement and speculation, and the enormous growth of every Australian colony. Between 1850 and 1856 the population of Victoria went up from 80,000 to 400,000. A pushing vigorous society thus grew up, which in 1855 received a complete measure of responsible government such as had earlier been given to Canada. There now grew up in each colony a fierce democratic feeling which has strongly coloured their whole subsequent progress. Henceforth their expansion became quite independent of the mother-country. The colonies soon found plenty of troubles of their own. There arose a great struggle between protectionists and free traders (1863), and a more bitter strife between the rich *Squatters* who had become a sort of territorial aristocracy, and those who sought to keep landed property in many hands, and to encourage corn-growing rather than sheep-farming. Sydney and Melbourne became great cities with large manufactures and a great artisan population. But though the legal tie between free Australia and England remains but nominal, and their interests seem as often to clash as to unite, the sentiment of English nationality still binds together colony and mother-country, and has brought about a promising and substantial proof of sympathy in the despatch of Australian forces to the Red Sea to help in the relief of Gordon and the preservation of the Sudan, and now again to uphold British supremacy in South Africa. Since 1885 a *Federal Council for Australia* has been set up by the States themselves; but New Zealand and New South Wales held aloof, and for some years it only met for discussion and consultation. These debates however familiarised men's minds with the idea, and led gradually to the breaking down of local prejudices and of the real differences of interest and policy that made federation difficult. At last, in 1900, a *Commonwealth of Australia Act* was unanimously passed through the British Parliament, and

Australian
Federation.

accepted by all the colonies except New Zealand. The new federal Commonwealth began its existence on 1st January 1901.

10. The conquest of India, and the settlement of Australia and New Zealand, were rounded off by fresh establishments in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The beginning of them is the cession of *Ceylon* ^{Settlements in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.} (1802), and the conquest of *Mauritius* (1810). In 1819 *Singapore* was established as the centre of the English trade in lands once entirely in the hands of the Dutch. After 1837 *Aden* became a great station on the Suez route to India, and received a new importance with the opening of the Suez Canal. *Hong-Kong*, taken in 1841 from China, became a naval station and a thriving free port. Sir James Brooke's private venture at *Sarawak* in Borneo was another great impetus to English development in the Indian Archipelago. In 1874 the occupation of *Fiji* started a new colony in Oceania. Still more recently establishments have begun in the vast island of *New Guinea*. But these settlements are analogous to Indian conquests or Dutch trading-stations rather than to the direct expansion of England into new regions. Yet they mark no unimportant movement. Shut off from other colonies, the trading nations of Europe have begun to seek in the Pacific the settlements that have become impossible for them elsewhere. It does not become England to stand aside in a new colonial movement.

11. *South Africa* stands midway between the Australian and the West Indian types of colony, while in some ways suggesting analogies with Canada. It is a genuine colony, whither Dutchmen in the ^{South Africa.} seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Englishmen in the nineteenth have fared in large numbers to seek their fortunes. But the native races have always been, and will certainly remain, the great majority of the population. Its history therefore is complicated by the strife of African and European as well as the national hostility of Dutch and English. Partly in consequence of these difficulties, its progress has been much slower than that of Canada or Australia.

When the Peace of Paris finally handed over the *Cape Colony* to the English, it was peopled by a hardy and stubborn race of Dutch farmers, mutinous against the exclusive government of the old Dutch ^{Cape Colony.} days, and cherishing what self-government they had won through rebellion before the English occupied their land.

They were all stern Calvinists, seeking in the Old Testament their justification for enslaving the Hottentots and the other native races of South Africa. Like the French in Canada, their old-fashioned ways led them to look with great disgust on the adventurous English settlers, who soon began to arrive, though for a long time in small numbers. They were angry that the English had abolished the slave-trade, and resented with still greater bitterness the abolition of slavery itself. After 1820 the *Eastern Province* of Cape Colony began to be settled by the English Government, and *Port Elizabeth* was founded. The progress of the

The Great Trek, 1835. English East soon began to rival that of the Dutch West, and the strife of the two peoples waxed warmer. In 1835 the original Dutch of the Eastern Province abandoned their old homes and "trekked" into the wilderness over the Orange River, finally crossing the Drakensberg range and settling down in *Natal*, proclaiming a Free State or Republic. But the English Government followed them, and in 1843 made Natal a dependency of the Cape, from which position it was

Natal, 1843-56. raised in 1856 to that of a Crown colony. In 1853, after the end of the last of the *Kaffir Wars*, a large tract of Kaffirland was annexed as *British Kaffraria*, and in 1865 joined to the

British Kaffraria, 1853-65. Cape Colony. Some of the Boers or Dutch farmers remained behind the Drakensberg in the region of the Orange River, where others of the freer and more restless sort soon joined them. But they occupied such vast territories with such scanty numbers that they could not defend themselves from the Griquas, a race of half-castes on whom they made war. England stepped

Orange River Free State, 1835-48, and 1854-99. in and annexed the *Orange River Free State* (1848), though in 1854 she cut it adrift again, and the Dutch Republic has ever since remained independent. But in 1852 the Boers,

who had after 1843 settled north of the Vaal, were recognised as independent. Their State, called, after 1858, the *South African Republic*, or the *Transvaal*, built

The Transvaal, 1852-77. up a sort of military organisation to keep down the natives, with whom it fought so often that all South Africa was disturbed, until in 1877 the British Government annexed the South African Republic. A little earlier the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Republic had led to more settlers than the Boers could keep in order, so that in 1870 the English took possession of the diamond-fields of *Griqualand West*, which in 1877 were joined to Cape Colony.

During these years that the constant struggles of the Boers and the English kept alive race hatreds Cape Colony had been getting on very slowly. In 1835 military rule was abandoned, and a Council of Nominees set up; but Dutch and English joined in the cry for representative institutions, and in 1854 the first Cape Parliament was opened. In 1874 responsible government was established, as in Canada and Australia, and the Home Government, inspired by Lord Carnarvon, sought to bring about a South African Federation like the Dominion of Canada, passing in 1877 an Act for the purpose.

Troubles now broke out in South Africa, which soon put an end to schemes of Federation. The Transvaal Boers fiercely resented the suppression of their Free State, and handed over to England a fine crop of difficulties with the natives. The worst of these were with the *Zulus*, a Bantu tribe from the north, who had built up a remarkable military organisation under their leader Chaka. England now drifted into war with his descendant, King Cetchwayo; Lord Chelmsford invaded Zululand in 1879, but the want of the commonest precautions on his part led to the terrible disaster of *Isandhlwana*, and nothing but the gallant defence of *Rorke's Drift* by Chard and Bromhead saved Natal from invasion. Subsequent successes overthrew Cetchwayo's power, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, sent out to make a settlement, broke down the old military system, and cut up Zululand into thirteen petty districts. But this plan did not last long, as the Zulus without Cetchwayo proved quite unable to govern themselves. Direct British rule soon had to be established in Zululand, which in 1897 was annexed to Natal.

The year after the fall of Cetchwayo (1880) the Transvaal Boers rose in revolt. They had only yielded to the English through fear of the Zulus, and now that the Zulu terror was removed they were eager to win back their ancient freedom. The mismanagement of the Transvaal by incompetent military governors gave them a good excuse for rising, and there were so few British troops in the country that the warlike farmers soon got the whole of the Transvaal into their own hands. In 1881 they crossed the borders of Natal and thoroughly defeated the small British force sent against them under Sir George Colley at *Laing's Neck* and *Majuba Hill*. Reinforcements were hurried out from England, but before

South African
troubles,
1877-81.

Zulu War, 1879.

The Restoration
of the South
African Repub-
lic, 1881-1884.

these soldiers could do anything to redress the balance, the Gladstone Government changed its policy and by the *Pretoria Convention* gave back the Boers their home rule, retaining, however, the suzerainty of England.

Public opinion in England hailed the settlement as an act of magnanimity on the part of the stronger power, but the Boers easily persuaded themselves that they had beaten the English thoroughly and that their independence was the price of their victory. Guided by their astute



and obstinate President, Paul Kruger, they at once began to seek to extend their territories at the expense of the natives, and to disregard the conditions as to suzerainty imposed by the Pretoria Convention. The weakness and want of policy of the Home Government seconded their efforts, and in 1884 Kruger in a visit to England, persuaded the ministry to revise the Convention of 1881 in terms very favourable to the Boers. By this *London*

Convention the cherished title of South African Republic was restored, and all specific mention of British suzerainty omitted. Neither British statesmen nor British generals won any credit from all these transactions. Yet official errors and miscalculations would have done but little harm had it not been for the fact that the new settlement of the Transvaal had hardly been accomplished when two new circumstances changed the whole condition of affairs in South Africa. These were the appearance of Germany and other foreign powers as claimants for dominion, and the discovery of gold mines of extraordinary extent and richness within the territories of the South African Republic.

Up to the time of the London Convention the only European rival to Britain in South Africa had been Portugal, which continued to hold in a feeble and nerveless way the coast lands between Zululand and Mozambique, many hundred miles north of the great river Zambesi. But in 1884 Prince Bismarck set up the German flag in Damaraland, the coast region to the north of the Orange River, while a little later a German East Africa was established in the lands between the Portuguese settlements and the Equator. German merchants and officials strove hard to find in these new African territories openings for trade and opportunities for settlement. There was imminent danger of the unoccupied territory between the Eastern and Western German settlements being absorbed, and of British and Boers alike being checked in their natural expansion northwards. Nor was Germany alone at work, as France was busily engaged in extending her influence over Madagascar, which she finally conquered in 1896. The "scramble for Africa" had already begun.

*The Scramble
for South
Africa,
1884-1899.*

The mineral discoveries in the Transvaal led to a great influx of restless and enterprising gold-seekers, largely British in origin, who soon outnumbered the Boer farmers. The Rand, where the chief gold reefs were, became a populous centre, and Johannesburg, its chief town, rapidly became a great city with a hundred thousand inhabitants, the industrial capital of South Africa. It was inevitable that there should be the strongest antagonism between the old-fashioned, hard-fighting, slow-minded Dutch farmers and the adventurers and speculators who were turning the wilderness into a great industrial community, full of the restlessness and disorders of a new mining camp, but with no aptitude for

*The Gold Mines
of the Rand and
the Outlanders.*

the military skill in which the Boer delighted. But though hating these foreigners and their ways, the Boers were shrewd enough to profit by the flowing tide of wealth which the labours of the new comers had set rolling. They now levied a huge revenue from the mining districts, built forts and purchased guns and artillery with the money, and strove in every way to make their own profit out of the settlers. At the same time they altered the laws so as to make it practically impossible for any of these *Outlanders* to become naturalised citizens in the Transvaal. The result was the growth of a Boer military oligarchy, lording it over the Outlanders, to whom they denied all political rights. The Outlanders were a disorganised and motley body, more intent on money-making than politics, but as time wore on and taxation pressed heavily upon them, while the tyrannous and corrupt Boer government hampered the growth of the mining industry and threatened the Rand with anarchy, they began to agitate for a reform of the constitution and an easier way of admission to the franchise.

During these years the British had entered actively into the scramble for unappropriated African territory. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, an English emigrant who had made a fortune in the diamond fields at Kimberley, The Chartered Company and Rhodesia, 1889. became Prime Minister of Cape Colony in 1890. In the previous year he had established a *British South African Company*, which received a royal charter giving it sovereign rights over Matabeleland and Mashonaland, now often called *Rhodesia*. These districts, along with the British protectorate of *Bechuanaland*, extended northwards from Cape Colony to beyond the Zambesi, and by comprising all the central regions of South Africa effectually prevented the union of the Eastern and Western German Colonies, and effectively shut off the Transvaal Boers from further opportunities of "trekking" into the interior.

Meanwhile other chartered companies appropriated the tropical regions further to the north. But the districts occupied were vast and little known, and in attempting to do too much at once with limited resources the British adventurers at once found themselves much occupied with troubles with the natives and with the other problems inseparable from opening up a new country. Brilliant visions of a British territory stretching from Egypt to the Cape, and bound together by a railway, floated before the minds

of the sanguine projectors. Though England entered late into the struggle for Mid-Africa she managed to win a full share of the spoils. Though greed of gain played too prominent a part in determining the policy of the leaders in this quest, the higher colonising, ruling and adventurous qualities of the British race were brought out conspicuously in the struggle.

South Africa was still in a state of flux when the growing difficulties between the Boers and the Outlanders in the Transvaal at last came to a crisis. The Outlanders at Johannesburg were at last forced to meet common dangers by common action, and after having long sought in vain for a redress of grievances by peaceful means they began to collect arms and ammunition and prepared to vindicate their claims by force. Mr. Rhodes at Cape Town was fully aware of their intentions; and Dr. Jameson, an official of the South Africa Company, collected a force of several hundred armed police on the Western frontier of the Transvaal. Before the Johannesburgers were ready for action, Jameson and his policemen made a "raid" into the Transvaal territory, professing that he was marching in obedience to their request, to save them from the Boers. But he was soon met by a superior force of Boers and forced after a few hours' fighting to lay down his arms. The failure of Jameson's Raid proved fatal to the Outlander movement. The Johannesburg reformers were not ready to fight and at the advice of the British authorities surrendered their arms to the Boers, who thus won a complete and easy triumph. But the action of Rhodes and Jameson not only injured the Outlander cause. It made many of the Boers believe that the Cape and British governments were accomplices in a lawless attack on their freedom, and led many of the Cape Dutch—the Afrianders as they were called—to make common cause with Kruger and his oligarchy. Race hatreds that had been gradually dying away were revived in worse bitterness than ever. The cause of reform in the Transvaal was lost sight of by wider issues involving a fierce conflict of Dutch and English all over South Africa. At the Cape, the Rhodes ministry was driven from power by Afrianders who had hitherto supported it, and a Dutch ministry, sympathising strongly with the Boers, was put in its place.

The Transvaal Boers redoubled their military preparations, and a heavier yoke was laid upon the Outlanders.

*The Outlander
Reform Move-
ment and Jameson's Raid, 1895.*

They had long yearned for an independent South Africa, freed from all British control, and dominated by the Afrikaner party. Kruger and his associates were enabled by the blunders of their enemies to pose as champions of Dutch freedom over all South Africa.

The South African troubles, 1895-1900.

In 1897 the British Government sent out Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner to South Africa. His mission was to relieve the tension between English and Dutch, and his main endeavour was to localise the struggle once more to the question between the Boer burghers of the Transvaal and the Outlanders. After long negotiations he met President Kruger at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, and urged upon him a new franchise law which would make it possible for the Outlanders to become Transvaal citizens in a few years. By this policy the Transvaal would have remained independent and the Outlanders have lost their status as British citizens. But as they gradually became enfranchised they would have been enabled to deprive the Boer oligarchy of its position and establish a really free government in the Transvaal. However, the Boers refused to accept any specific terms, thinking that by yielding the franchise they would in time lose the control of the Transvaal State. The Bloemfontein conference came to nothing, and more negotiations followed between the British and Boer governments, with equally little results.

The Boer War, 1899-1900.

In 1899 the British Government began collecting an inadequate force to defend South Africa, but still hoped for peace until early in October all negotiations were ended by the Boers sending in an ultimatum demanding impossible terms. Immediately the Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the Boers invaded Cape Colony and Natal. The two States, where every man was a rider and marksman, were able at once to put a large force into the field. In Natal, the British troops under Sir George White lay in a long line between Dundee and Ladysmith, exposed on three sides to the Boer attack. The first serious fighting was near Dundee, where the British troops, after the death of General Symons, were forced to retreat to the main body commanded by Sir George White at Ladysmith. Early in November Ladysmith itself was surrounded, and closely besieged. An army corps was, however, quickly mobilised in England and rapidly despatched to South Africa under the command of Sir Redvers Buller. On its arrival this force was split up into four divisions, the strongest

going with Buller to Natal for the relief of Ladysmith, while a considerable force was despatched to relieve Kimberley, the centre of the diamond fields, which was also besieged, while two smaller divisions operated south of the Orange River to check the Boer invasion of the northern portions of Cape Colony. But the Boers excelled their opponents in numbers, mobility, knowledge of the country, and skill in adapting the campaign to it. They entrenched themselves in strong positions, and before the end of the year three at least of the four divisions of the British forces had delivered their main attack and, despite the desperate gallantry of the soldiers, failed with heavy loss. But the Boers showed little disposition to take the offensive in their turn, and the early months of 1900 saw both sides waiting for each other in South Africa. An enormous number of fresh British troops were now despatched to the seat of war, and the supreme command entrusted to Lord Roberts, the veteran hero of Candahar, with Lord Kitchener, the conqueror of the Sudan, as chief of his staff. All over the Empire our reverses were met by a wave of patriotic feeling such as recent times have hardly witnessed, and the reality of our reserve forces has been for the first time demonstrated when volunteers, yeomanry and militia vied with the regular army in their eagerness to be taken to the front. The great self-governing colonies, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, took, as formerly in the Sudan, an active part, helping the mother country with solid reinforcements of fine troops, and thus supplied a convincing proof of the real unity of the Empire. Equally gratifying was the vigorous part played by the loyalists of South Africa in reasserting imperial unity. The final result of all these efforts is still to be determined, but after long waiting the British struck a mighty blow at the end of February. Lord Roberts marched with his main force to the relief of Kimberley, and cleverly turned the strong position of the enemy at Magersfontein. General French, at the head of the cavalry division, raised the siege, and immediately afterwards the Boer army fled eastward to Bloemfontein. They were quickly followed up by Roberts, who speedily surrounded them at *Koodoesberg*, where, after fierce fighting, the stubborn Boer general Cronje surrendered with more than 4000 men on 27th February, the anniversary of the Boer victory at Majuba Hill. This practically secured English supremacy in the Free State. Roberts marched with but little opposition to Bloemfontein, and took possession of the Free State capital. Meanwhile Buller, after three un-

successful efforts, at last forced his way through the strong position of the Boers along the line of the Tugela and relieved White and the hard-pressed defenders of Ladysmith. This was followed by the retreat of the Boers to the passes of the Drakensberg, while the rebellion in Northern Cape Colony was suppressed, and communication along the railway line renewed with Bloemfontein from the south. A long delay now ensued in the advance. While Roberts tarried at Bloemfontein, awaiting fresh horses and supplies, fever raged among the war-worn soldiers and caused more loss than the enemies' bullets. The Boers still held their own in the eastern parts of the Free State, and, though not risking a general action, wrought much mischief by cutting off isolated parties and capturing convoys. Early in May, however, Roberts resumed his forward movement. No general resistance was attempted, and the march was extraordinarily rapid and successful. The Free State was formally annexed and the Transvaal invaded. Finally Johannesburg and Pretoria were occupied, Kruger fleeing with the more strenuous of his followers to the mountainous region of Lydenburg in the east of the Transvaal. The march to Pretoria was conducted with such haste that the long line of communications between Roberts and his base offered tempting opportunities to the Boers, who early in June won more minor successes and temporarily broke down the railway line. But such triumphs only caused delay, vexation, and needless bloodshed. Roberts joined hands with Buller, and resumed his march. By September the last Boer army was broken up, and Kruger a fugitive in Portugese territory, whence he sailed to Europe. The Transvaal, like the Free State, was annexed by proclamation to the Empire. It was now generally believed that the war was over, and many troops were withdrawn from Africa. Roberts himself was recalled home to undertake, as commander-in-chief, the much-needed reorganisation of the British army, leaving Lord Kitchener to carry out the concluding operations of the war. But the Boers, though no longer able to meet organised armies in the field, split up their forces into small bands and carried on a guerilla warfare with marvellous dexterity and skill, and often with considerable success. They prolonged the war until after the Queen's death, and it was not until 1902 that the long struggle was terminated. The greatest Boer success was in stirring up a widespread rebellion among the Dutch of Cape Colony, which added enormously to the

difficulties of the British by still further extending the already vast field of operations. And despite many severe lessons, the British were very slow in adapting themselves to the conditions of South African warfare. But gradually the Boer forces became worn down, and at last the heroic remnant abandoned the unavailing struggle. Grave difficulties still remained before the complete settlement of South Africa could be effected. It was not until these were grappled with that the industrial development of the country, which had progressed enormously even amidst the constant threats of war, and despite the constant blunders and vacillations of our statesmen, could be taken up again. But it is sure to follow sooner or later upon the restoration of order. Revived prosperity will bring in its train a steady flow of British emigration, which will in time settle the Dutch question, as the French question has been settled in Canada. Nothing will more completely help to further such a happy state of things than the renewal under more fortunate auspices of those schemes of South African Federation, whose breakdown, twenty years ago, marked the beginning of the long troubles that have now at last come to a head.

12. The British dominions now extend over more than eight million square miles of the earth's surface. Besides myriads of native races, there are more than ten million colonists of European descent, the mass of The Colonies in 1901. them enjoying complete self-government, and being bound to the mother-country only by what we call "sentimental" ties. Yet the great growth of Canada, of Australia, of New Zealand, and of South Africa must be in the future. In any case that future must belong to the British race. But it is a question slowly forcing itself on thoughtful minds—whether, if the extension of the British race is thus assured, the British State should not be extended too. The success of the Federal system in the United States, the more modest triumphs of Canadian Federation, and the very recent establishment of a confederate Australian Commonwealth, have shown how a vast population dispersed over immense distances can be kept together in a real unity, in spite of tremendous difficulties. No greater object can employ British statesmen than the effort to bring the scattered populations of old and new England into a world-wide empire by means of the same Federal principle. The obstacles are great, and every party must make sacrifices, but the rewards are great also. The present union of feelings and affection may suffice until some sudden trouble strains the slight cord and

threatens to snap it. The alternative is some wise scheme of *Imperial Federation*, which would bring about a greater State than the world has seen since the Roman Empire, and be the greatest assertion of the principle of Nationality that could be secured. Nothing in modern times is more pregnant with fateful consequences to human civilisation and the future of our own race than the new migration from these islands westward, eastward, and southward into a Greater Britain.

GLOSSARY

Of certain less usual Words not explained in the Text.

- Abjuration**, a solemn rejection or renunciation.
- Alien**, an outlander or foreigner.
- Amnesty**, a general pardon for offences against the state.
- Attainder**, Act of, an Act of Parliament sentencing to death and loss of property, a person accused of treason or other high offence against the state; the condemnation of a culprit by special legislation without formal judicial trial.
- Blackmail**, tribute taken by force from a man's goods or chattels.
- Blank verse**, non-riming metre of ten syllables and five feet, the verse of the Elizabethan dramatists and of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and first introduced into England by Surrey.
- Brigands**, armed robbers in gangs.
- Bull**, a sealed decree of the Pope.
- Bullion**, uncoined gold and silver.
- Catamaran**, a long narrow raft consisting of logs tied together.
- Chapter**, assembly of monks or canons.
- Civil List**, the portion of the revenue allotted to expenses other than naval or military, and therefore the sum set apart for the personal expenses of the king and his court.
- Coalition**, a joining together of different parties in the state to form an administration, or to follow a common policy.
- Commissioners**, a board appointed for a special duty.
- Concordat**, an agreement, and especially a written agreement or treaty, between the Pope and some temporal sovereign.
- Convocation**, the representative synod or council of the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury or York.
- Coolies**, Non-European labourers in the East and West Indies.
- Coronet**, a nobleman's crown.
- Corvette**, a small war-vessel, ranking next below a frigate.
- Crofter**, the peasant cultivator of a very small farm in the Highlands of Scotland.
- Customs**, duties or payments imposed by law on goods going in or out of a kingdom, so called because the original sums paid were determined by ancient custom.
- Darbar**, a solemn assembly or great court held by an Indian prince or governor.
- Declaratory Act**, a law which makes no change in what is established, but simply declares authoritatively what the law already is.
- Dilettante**, a dabbler in art or literature, an amateur.
- Dragoon**, originally like our modern mounted infantry, a soldier who fought on foot, but used a horse in order to travel more quickly.

- Modern dragoons are, however, simply cavalry.
- Dublin Castle*, often used as meaning the central government of Ireland, as all the offices of state are situated therein.
- Elector*, one of the German princes of the Empire who elected the Emperor of the Romans.
- Embargo*, a prohibition from sailing by public authority.
- Enclosures*, the cutting up into privately owned fields of the open common land into which so much of England was divided until the last century.
- Exchequer Bill*, notes issued by the Exchequer as security for money lent to the Government. The temporary or 'unfunded debt' of Britain is commonly raised by issuing Exchequer Bills.
- Excise*, a tax on commodities levied within a country, as opposed to customs, which are raised on goods imported or exported.
- Executive Power*, the authority which administers or carries out the laws; the Government.
- Fallow*, land left unsown to rest for a season.
- Fuller*, one who 'fulls' or cleans cloth.
- Grasier*, one who 'grazes' or rears cattle for the market.
- Guild*, a friendly or trade club or union.
- Habeas Corpus*, 'Thou mayest have the body'; the first words of the famous writ securing the liberty of the subject in England.
- Harpsichord*, an old-fashioned musical instrument, with keys and strings, the precursor of the modern piano.
- Hereditary Jurisdictions*, political or judicial authority handed down from father to son.
- Heresy*, false doctrine; religious views different from those generally accepted as orthodox.
- Heroic Couplet*, verses of ten syllables and five feet each, rimed in pairs.
- Hessian boots*, long boots named from Hesse in Germany.
- Hough*, to hamstring.
- Impeachment*, a solemn accusation of a public offender by the House of Commons, which presents him for trial before the House of Lords.
- Intendants*, the local representatives of the Crown and administrators in the various provinces of the old French monarchy.
- Joint Stock Banks* are those, the shares of which are held by a large number of individuals.
- Junta*, or *Junto*, Spanish for a council or cabal.
- Lake School of Poets*, so called because some of its members lived in the Lake District of Cumberland and Westmoreland.
- Legate*, a deputy sent by the Pope.
- Legitimist*, a believer in the divine right of monarchy by hereditary succession.
- Martello Tower*, an isolated tower erected on the coast to protect the country from invasion, so called from Mortello in Corsica.
- Moderados*, moderates, a Portuguese political party.
- Moderator*, the chairman or president of a Presbyterian synod or assembly.
- Non-Jurors*, those who refuse to take an oath.
- Pack*, to arrange unfairly; to 'pack a parliament' is to fill it with one's own partisans.
- Pale*, *Pallium*, or *Pall*, a kind of stole worn by archbishops.
- Pantaloon*, trousers.

Pillars of Hercules, the rocks on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Plurality, the holding of more than one benefice by the same clergyman.

Posse Comitatus, power of the shire, a modern name for the ancient 'fyrd.'

Proclamation, an edict of the king and council, sometimes having the force of law.

Progressistas, progressists, a Portuguese political party.

Prorogue, to end a session of Parliament, by a proclamation summoning it to meet again at a future date.

Prorogation thus ensures the continuance of the existing Parliament from one session to another, and differs from *Dissolution*, which ends the Parliament altogether, so that fresh elections are necessary before a Parliament can meet again.

Quieta non movere, not to disturb things that are quiet.

Regicide, king killer, a term specially applied to those who sat in judgment on Charles I. and Louis XVI.

Regium Donum, the king's gift, the endowment paid after the Revolution of 1688 to the Presbyterian clergy in Ireland.

Schism, division or separation from the Church.

Sinking Fund, a sum set apart to pay off the National Debt.

Sonderbund, a rival confederacy set up by the Catholic cantons in Switzerland in 1848.

Specie, coined gold or silver.

Viceroy, a king's deputy.

Yeomanry, originally the class of yeomen or small freeholders. Since 1761 the name has been given to a class of volunteer cavalry, which was renewed in England in 1797. The Irish Yeomanry, set up in 1796, also included infantry regiments.

INDEX

- AACHEN, Treaty of (1748), 778.
 Abbot, Speaker, 856.
 Abdurrahman, 1018, 1019.
 Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey, 955.
 Abercrombie, General, 791.
 —, Sir Ralph, 838.
 Aberdeen, Lord, 898, 899 912, 918.
 — Ministry, 912-917.
 Abjuration Oath, the, 736.
 Abolitionists, 825, 1026.
 Aboukir, battle of, 838.
 Abraham, Heights of, 791.
 Abyssinia, war with, 927.
 Acadie, 747, 787. *See also* Nova Scotia.
 Acland, Arthur, 953.
 Acre, 838, 896.
 Acting in 18th century, 830.
 — in 19th century, 984.
 Adams (astronomer), 985.
 Addington, Henry, 839, 852-853. *See also* Sidmouth, Viscount.
 — Ministry, 839, 852.
 Addison, Joseph, 745, 763, 764, 829, 830, 831.
 Additional Forces Bill, Pitt's, 854.
 Adelaide (city), 1037.
 —, Queen, 869, 885, 888.
 Aden, 1039.
 Adrianople, Treaty of, 884.
 Adullamites, the, 925.
 Æsthetic School, the, 987.
 Afghanistan, 897, 936, 941, 943, 997, 1000, 1010-1011, 1013, 1018, 1019, 1020.
 Afghan War, the first, 897, 1010-1011.
 —, the second, 1018-1019.
 Africa, 825, 933, 949, 956-957, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1039-1048.
 African Company, the, 1026.
 —, the British South, 1044.
 Africanders, the, 1045, 1046.
 Afridis, the, 1020.
 Aghrim, battle of, 728.
 Agnew (officer), 1013.
 Agra, 1007.
 Agrarian Revolution, the (18th century), 818-820.
 Agricultural Holdings Act, the, 934.
 Agriculture in the 18th century, 818-821.
 — in the 19th century, 972, 973.
 Ahlden Castle, 767.
 Ahmed Shâh, 1010.
 Aire and Calder Navigation, 817.
 Aislable, John, 763, 767.
 Aix-la-Chapelle. *See* Aachen.
 Akbar the Great, 996.
 — Khan, 1011.
 Alabama, the (ship), 922.
 — Arbitration, the, 932.
 Albemarle, Arnold Joost van Keppel, Earl of, 723.
 Alberoni, Cardinal, 764, 765, 771.
 Albert, Prince Consort, 897, 898, 901, 909, 910, 918, 923, 959, 983.
 — Edward, Prince of Wales, 1018.
 Alexander the Great in India, 996.
 — 1., Czar of Russia, 839, 859, 865, 868, 878.
 Alexandria, 941.
 Alfieri, 777.
 Alien Act (1703), 751.
 Aligarh, battle of, 1007.
 Aliwâl, battle of, 1012.
 Allahâbâd, 998, 1000, 1017.
 Allan, the river, 762.
 Allegiance, Oath of, 723.
 Allen (Fenian), 928.
 Alma, battle of the, 914-915.
 Almanza, battle of, 743.
 Almeida, 864.
 Alsace, 729, 932.
 Althorp, Lord, afterwards third Earl Spencer, 887, 890, 894, 977.
 Amalgamated Engineers' Society, 978.
Ambigu, *L'* (newspaper), 851.
 Amelia, Princess, 858.
 America, North, 780, 786-791, 802-809, 824, 825, 865-866, 921, 922, 1033-1035.
 —, South, 747, 765, 772, 876-877, 1029.
 American Colonies, the thirteen, 786-789.
 — Civil War, 921-922.
 — Taxation, 802-804.

- American War of Independence, 802-809.
 — War (1812-1814), 865-866, 1033.
 Amherst, Jeffrey, first Baron, 790-791.
 —, second Baron, 1008-1009.
 Amiens, Treaty of (1802), 840.
 Amusements in 18th century, 826.
 — in 19th century, 984.
Analogy of Religion, Butler's, 779.
 Andaman Islands, the, 1017.
 Anderson (officer), 1013.
 Andrassy Note, the, 936.
 Anglesey, Lord, 883.
 Anguilla, 1025.
 Anne, Princess of York, 730, 735.
 —, Queen, 737-754.
 Anson, Admiral George, Lord, 778, 783, 1026.
 Anti-Corn Law League, 902, 904-905, 909.
 Anti-Parnellites, 948, 950.
 Antigua, 807, 1025.
 Antwerp, 741, 743, 892.
 Anwar-ud-din-Khán, 785.
Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, Burke's, 835.
 Appin, 759.
 Appropriation Clause, the, 890, 893.
 Arabi Pasha, 941.
 Arakan, 1009.
 Arch, Joseph, 978.
 Architecture in 17th century, 713-715.
 — in 18th century, 828.
 — in 19th century, 979-981.
 Arcot, 785, 997, 1006.
 Argauum, 1007.
 Argyll, Archibald Campbell, 10th Earl and 1st Duke of, 725, 726.
 —, John Campbell, 2nd Duke of, 749, 759, 760, 762.
 —, George Campbell, 8th Duke of, 928.
 Aristocracy, the territorial, 820.
 Arkwright, Richard, 814, 815.
 Armed Neutrality, the (1780), 806.
 — (1801), 839.
 Armenia, 937, 955.
 Arminian Methodists, 781.
 Army, the Indian, 1003, 1015, 1017.
 —, the Irish, 851, 857.
 —, Regulation Act, the (1870), 931.
 —, the Standing, 724, 735; 931, 963-964.
 Arnold, Matthew, 987.
 —, Thomas, 967, 987, 989, 992.
Arrow, the *lorcha*, 918.
 Art in the 18th century, 829-830.
 — in the 19th century, 981-984.
 Arundel, Thomas Howard, Earl of, 715.
 — Marbles, the, 715.
 Aryans, 995.
 Ashantee War, 933.
 Ashbourne's Act, 943.
 Ashburton Treaty, the, 899.
 Ashley, Lord, 902, 977. *See also* Shaftesbury, Earl of.
Asiento, the, 747, 814.
 Aspern, battle of, 863.
 Assam, 1009, 1021.
 Assassination Plot, the, 730.
 Assaye, battle of, 1006.
 Assigned Districts, the, 1014.
 Assis, Francis of, 899.
 Associate Presbytery, the, 822.
 Association, the Catholic, 883.
 —, the Bond of (1696), 730.
 Asquith, H. H., 953.
 Astronomy, 985.
 Athletic Sports, 984.
 Athlone, 728.
 Atholl, 759.
 —, Duke of, 759.
 Atomic Theory, the, 985.
 Attainder, 727, 730, 754.
 Atterbury, Francis, Bishop of Rochester, 745, 748, 767.
 Attwood (musician), 983.
 — (reformer), 887, 896.
 Auchterarder Case, the, 971.
 Auckland, Lord, 1010-1011.
 — (city), 1037.
 Augusta, Princess of Wales, 793.
 Augustenburg, Frederick, Duke of, 921.
 Augustus, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, 789.
 Aurangzeb, 784, 996-997.
 Austerlitz, battle of, 856.
 Austin, John, 988.
 Australia, 824, 1026-1027, 1028-1029, 1031-1033, 1036-1038, 1047.
 —, Federal Council for, 1038.
 —, Commonwealth of, 1038, 1039.
 —, Felix, 1036.
 Australian Government Act, 1038.
 Austria, 734, 740, 741, 745, 747, 765, 771, 774, 775, 778, 789, 790, 796, 835, 836, 837, 839, 851, 854, 856, 863-864, 865, 867-868, 869, 876, 892, 908-909, 913-917, 921, 926-927, 932, 948. *See also* Empire, the Holy Roman, and Germany.
 —, House of. *See* Table xvi.
 Austrian Succession, War of the, 772-778.
 Austro-Prussian War, the, 926-927.
 Avaux, Count of, 727.
 Axholme, Isle of, 820.
 Ayúb Khán, 1019.
 BĀBAR, 996.
 Bach Society, the, 983.
 Bacon (sculptor), 829.
 —, Anthony, 815.
 Badajos, 864, 865.
 Baden, 867.
 —, Louis, Margrave of, 741.
 Badenoch, 763.

- Bahamas, the, 1025.
 Baker, Sir Samuel, 1027.
 Bala, 782.
 Balaclava, battle of, 915-916.
 Balfe (musician), 983.
 Balfour, Arthur J., 945, 954.
 Balkan Peninsula, nations of the, 936.
 Ballads, 832.
 Ballot Act, the, 931.
 Balmerino, Lord, 777.
 Baltimore, 866.
 Bamford, Samuel, 869.
 Bank Charter Act (1844), 902.
 — of England, 731, 732, 765, 837, 875, 891, 902.
 Banks, Sir Joseph, 1028, 1029.
 — (sculptor), 829.
Baptist Union, the, 970.
 Barbados, 807, 1024, 1025, 1034.
 Barcelona, 743, 745.
 Barlow, Sir George, 1007.
 Barnes, Dr. (editor of the *Times*), 990.
 Baroda, 997. *See also* Gáekwár, the.
 Barrier Treaty, the, 747.
 Barrow-in-Furness, 972.
 Barry, Sir Charles, 980.
 Bartolozzi, 829.
 Bass (traveller), 1027.
 Bassein, Treaty of, 1006.
 Bassetlaw, hundred of, 886.
 Bastille, the, 834.
 Batavian Republic, the, 836, 840. *See also* Holland.
 Bates (traveller), 1028.
 Bath, 826.
 —, William Pulteney, Earl of, 773.
 Batoum, 937.
 Bavaria, 733, 734, 741, 742, 774, 856, 863, 867.
 Baxár, battle of, 998.
 Baylen, capitulation of, 862.
 Bayonne, 861.
 Bazaine, Marshal, 932.
 Beachy Head, battle of, 729.
 Beaconsfield, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of, 935-939. *See also* Disraeli.
Beagle, voyage of the, 1027-1030.
 Bechuanaland, 1044.
 Beauharnais, Hortense, 909.
 Bedchamber Question, the, 897.
 Beddoes, 987.
 Bedford, William Russell, 1st Duke of, 730.
 —, John Russell, 4th Duke of, 797.
 Begam of Oudh, the, 1000.
 Belfast, 894, 901.
 Belgium, 766, 768, 785, 791-792, 927, 932. *See also* Netherlands.
 Bell (teacher), 991.
 Benares, 1000.
 Bengal, 785, 997, 998, 999, 1002, 1004, 1006, 1021.
 —, Permanent Settlement of, 1004.
 Bennett Judgment, the, 968.
 —, Sir W. Sterndale, 983.
 Bentham, Jeremy, 988.
 Bentinck, Lord George, 904, 905, 907, 911.
 —, Lord William, 1007-1008.
 —, William, 723. *See also* Portland, Earl of.
 Berar, 997, 1007, 1014.
 Berber, 1006.
 Berbice, 1029.
 Beresford, Family of, 844, 883.
 —, Irish official, 849.
 —, Marshal, 863, 866.
 Berkeley, Bishop, 831, 844.
 Berlin, 937.
 — Decrees, the, 859.
 — Note, the, 936.
 —, Treaty of, 937.
 Bermudas, the, 1026.
 Bernadotte, Marshal, 859.
 Bernstorff, 754.
 Berridge, 822.
 Berwick, James, Duke of, 743.
 Bessemer Process, the, 973.
 Bethell. *See* Westbury, Lord.
 Bewicks, the, 829.
 Beyrout, bombardment of, 896.
 Bhartpur, sieges of, 1007, 1009.
 Bhonslá, the (of Nagpur), 997, 1007, 1008, 1013.
 Bhután, 1017.
Bible Society, the, 822.
 Biggar, J. G., 935.
 Bill of Rights, 724.
 Biology, 985.
 Birmingham, 816, 836, 882, 886, 887, 888, 896, 939, 953, 957, 983, 993.
 Bishop (musician), 983.
 Bismarck, Count (afterwards Prince), 921, 926, 948.
 Black Monday, 925.
 Blackburn, 815.
 Blackett, 974.
Blackwood's Magazine, 990.
 Blair-Atholl, 726.
 Blake, William (poet), 833.
 Blenheim, battle of, 741-742.
 — Palace, 828.
 Blenkinsop, 974.
 Blindheim. *See* Blenheim.
 Bloemfontein, 1046, 1047, 1048.
 — Conference, the, 1046.
 Blomfield, Bishop, 966.
 Bloomsbury Gang, the, 797.
 Blücher, Marshal, 866.
 Board Schools, 958, 992.
 — of Control, the, 811, 961, 1003, 1017.
 Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation, 979.
 Bodley (architect), 980.
 Boers, the, 1039-1048.
 Boer War, the (1881), 1041-1042.
 — (1899-1900), 1046-1048.

- Bolan Pass, the, 1011, 1018.
 Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount, 739, 746, 748, 749, 757, 763, 770, 794.
 Bolton, 814-815.
 Bombay, 998, 1001, 1004, 1008, 1012, 1016, 1013, 1020.
 Bonnymuir, riot at, 873.
 Boots, Hessian, 828.
 Borneo, 1039.
 Borodino, battle of, 865.
 Borrow, George, 989.
 Bosnia, 936, 937.
 Boston (New England), 803, 804.
 Boswell, James, 831.
 Botany Bay, 1029.
 Bothmar, 754.
 Boulanger, General, 948.
 Boulter, Primate, 844.
 Boulton, Matthew, 815.
 Bount, Queen Anne's, 738.
 Bourbon, House of, xiv, xv.
 —, Isle of, 1029.
 Bourne, Hugh, 970.
 Boxers, the (Chinese), 958.
 Boxing, 826.
 Boydell, John, 829.
 Boyle, Speaker, 845.
 Boyne, battle of the, 727-728.
 Boys, the, 770.
 Braddock, General, 787.
 Brady (murderer), 940.
 Bráhmans, 995.
 Brahms, 983.
 Brandenburg, xvii, 729, 740 *See also* Prussia.
 Brandywine Creek, battle of, 805.
 Brazil, 861, 876, 877.
 Breaking the line, 807, 854.
 Breed's Hill, 804.
 Brest, 729, 854.
 Bridgwater Canal, 817.
 —, Francis, Duke of, 817.
 Bright, John, 902, 906, 913, 925, 928, 939, 977.
 Brighton, 826, 828.
 Brihuega, battle of, 745.
 Brindley, 817.
 Brisbane (Governor), 1036.
 — (city), 1036.
 Bristol, 814, 826, 888.
 —, Frederick, Earl of, and Bishop of Derry, 847.
British and Foreign School Society, 991.
British Association, the, 986.
 British Columbia, 1035.
 — Kaffraria, 1040.
 Broad Bottom Administration, 773.
 — Church, 969.
 Broadhead, 978.
 Bromhead (officer), 1041.
 Brontë, Anne, Charlotte, and Emily, 989.
 Brooke, Sir James, 1039.
 Brooklyn, battle of, 805.
 Brougham, Henry, afterwards Lord, 874, 875, 880, 886, 887, 890, 894, 993.
 Broughton, the boxer, 826.
 Brown, Ford Madox, 981.
 Browne, Hablot K., 982.
 Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 987.
 —, Robert, 987.
 Bruce, H. A., afterwards Lord Aberdare, 928, 933.
 —, James, 1027.
 Brueys, Admiral, 838.
Brumaire, the 18th, 839.
 Brunel, Isambard K., 974.
 Brunswick, the Duke of, 863.
 Brussels, 948.
 Brydon, Dr., 1011.
 Buckingham, George, Marquis of, 875.
 Buckinghamshire, 718.
 Buckland (geologist), 985.
 Buenos Ayres, 859.
 Bulgaria, 936, 937.
 Bulgarian Atrocities, the, 939.
 Buller, Sir Redvers, 1046, 1047, 1048.
 Bullion Committee, the, 875.
 Bunker's Hill, battle of, 804.
 Buonaparte Family, the, xix.
 —, Jerome, 856, 859, 863.
 —, Joseph, 856, 859, 861, 862, 863.
 —, Louis, 856, 909.
 —, Louis Napoleon, 909. *See also* Napoleon III.
 —, Napoleon, 837-840. *See also* Napoleon I.
 Buononcini, 829.
 Burgess (architect), 980.
 Burgoyne, General, 805, 807.
 Burgundy, the Duke of (grandson of Louis XIV.), 744.
 Burials Act, the, 939, 970.
 Burke (Australian traveller), 1027.
 —, Edmund, 799, 800, 803, 804, 808, 811 (quoted), 832, 836, 837, 844, 886 (quoted), 961.
 —, Thomas Henry, 940, 946.
 Burma, 1009, 1013, 1019, 1020, 1021.
 Burmese War, the first, 1009.
 —, the second, 1013.
 Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, 724.
 Burns, Robert, 809 (quoted), 823 (quoted), 832, 835 (quoted), 987.
 Burrard, Sir Harry, 862.
 Burrows, General, 1019.
 Burton, Sir Richard, 1027.
 Busaco, battle of, 864.
 Bute, John Stuart, Earl of, 794-797.
 Butler, Joseph, Bishop of Durham, 779.
 Butt, Isaac, 935.
 Buxton, 826.
 —, Sir Thomas Fowell, 890.
 Byng, Admiral George (Cape Passaro), 743, 765.
 —, Admiral John (1757), 789.

- Byron, Lord, 858 (quoted), 877, 881 (quoted), 986.
- CABINET, the, 730-731, 735, 755, 756, 794, 810, 961.
- Cadiz, Francis of Assis, Duke of, 809.
- Cairns, Lord, 928, 929, 934.
- Cairo, Convention of, 838.
- Calcott (musician), 983.
- Calcutta, 784, 795, 998, 1002, 1010, 1016, 1021.
- Calder, Admiral, 854.
- Caledonian Canal, the, 817.
- Calico-printing, 815.
- Calvinism, 821-822.
- Calvinistic Methodists, English, 781.
- , Welsh, 781-782.
- Cambridge, town and university, 811, 912, 931, 970, 972, 973.
- , Adolphus, Duke of, 869.
- , George, Duke of, 749. *See also* George II.
- , George, Duke of, 869.
- Camden, Lord, 849.
- Cameron Clan, 725, 759, 762, 775.
- Cameronians, the, 724-725.
- Campbell Clan, 725, 726, 759.
- , Sir Colin, 1016.
- , Thomas, 987.
- Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 954.
- Camperdown, battle of, 837.
- Campo Formio, Treaty of, 837.
- Canada, 787, 790-791, 796, 804, 805, 807, 865, 895, 899, 922, 927, 928, 929, 1024, 1033, 1035, 1038, 1047, 1048.
- Canadian Pacific Railway, 1035.
- Canal, the military, 853.
- Canals, 817.
- Candy, 1030.
- Canning, George, 852, 853, 857, 858, 874, 875, 876-878, 880-881, 890.
- , Earl, 898, 1014-1017.
- , Family of, xxi.
- Canningites, 881, 882, 886, 887.
- Canrobert, General, 915.
- Canterbury, Archbishops of. *See*—
Sancroft.
Tillotson.
- Canterbury (New Zealand), 1037.
- Canton, 918, 919.
- Cape Breton, 787, 796, 1024.
- , Colony, 867, 1029, 1039, 1041, 1044, 1046, 1047.
- Capetown, 1045.
- Carbonari*, the, 876.
- Cardwell, Edward, afterwards Lord, 912, 918, 928, 931, 964.
- Caricature, 829.
- Carleton, 1019.
- Carlisle, 777.
- Carlos, Don, of Naples, 771, 795. *See* Charles III. of Spain.
- (Spanish Pretender), 892.
- Carlyle, Thomas, 971 (quoted), 977, 989.
- Carmarthen, Thomas Osborne, Marquis of, 723, 731. *See also* Danby and Leeds.
- Carnarvon, the Earl of, 926, 927, 934, 937, 938, 1034, 1041.
- Carnwath, Lord, 762, 763.
- Caroline of Anspach, Queen, 768, 770, 829.
- of Brunswick, Queen, 869, 873, 874.
- Carpenter, General, 762.
- Carrickfergus, 727.
- Carron Iron Works, 815.
- Carrying trade, the, 813, 816, 922.
- Carstares, William, 725.
- Carteret, Lord, 769, 770, 773, 783, 808, 845. *See also* Granville, Earl.
- Carthage, 772.
- Cartwright, Dr. Edmund, 815.
- Case of Ireland*, Molyneux's, 845.
- Cash payments, suspension of, 837.
- , resumption of, 875.
- Caste, 995, 997.
- Castle-Howard, 828.
- Castlebar Races*, the, 850.
- Castlereagh, Lord, 850, 857, 858, 868, 875-876, 877, 882. *See also* Londonderry, Lord.
- Catalonia, 743, 745, 747.
- Catamaran Expedition, the, 853.
- Catharine II. of Russia, 796, 806, 813, 833.
- Cathedrals, the, of the new foundation, 113.
- Catholic Association, the, 883.
- Emancipation, 811, 847-849, 857, 882-884.
- Rent, the, 883.
- Catholics, the English Roman, 723, 724, 806, 840, 841, 901, 971.
- Cato*, Addison's, 830.
- Street Conspiracy, 873.
- Cattle, breeds of, 819.
- Plague, the, 925.
- Cavagnari, Sir Louis, 1018.
- Cave of Adullam, the, 925.
- Cavendish House of. *See also* Devonshire and Hartington.
- , Lord Frederick, 940, 946.
- , Henry, 985.
- Cavour (Italian statesman), 920.
- Cawdor, Lord, 837.
- Cawnpur, 1008, 1015, 1016.
- Caxton, William, 366-367.
- Cecil, Robert, Marquis of Salisbury. *See* Salisbury.
- 'Ceded and Conquered Provinces,' the, 1007.
- Central Provinces, the, 1008, 1013, 1021.
- Centurion*, the (ship), 778.
- Cetchwayo, 1041.
- Ceylon, 840, 867, 1030, 1039.
- Chait Singh, 1000.

- Chaka, 1041.
Challenger, voyage of the, 1028.
 Chalmers, Dr. Thomas, 971.
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 939, 944, 954, 993.
Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, 991.
 Champlain, Lake, 866.
 Chanda Sahib, 785.
 Chantrey, Sir Francis, 982.
 Chard (officer), 1041.
 Charity Commission, the, 934.
 Charlemont, Lord, 846, 847.
 Charles vi., Emperor, 734, 743, 745, 771, 772.
 —, Elector of Bavaria, afterwards Charles vii., Emperor, 774-775.
 — x., King of France, 884, 885.
 — ii., King of Spain, 733, 734.
 — iii., King of Spain, 795. *See also* Carlos, Don.
 — iv., King of Spain, 853, 861.
 — xii., King of Sweden, 740, 765.
 — xiii., King of Sweden, 859.
 — xiv., John, King of Sweden. *See* Bernadotte, Marshal.
 —, Archduke of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Charles vi., 734, 743.
 —, Archduke of Austria, 863.
 — Albert, King of Sardinia, 908.
 — Edward. *See* Pretender, the Young.
 —, Thomas, of Bala, 782.
 Charlestown, 807.
 Charlotte, Princess of Wales, 869.
 —, Queen, 794, 810, 869.
 Charter Schools (Ireland), 841.
 Chartists, the, 895, 896, 901, 910, 976.
 Chatham, William Pitt, Earl of, 798-800, 800 (quoted), 803, 804, 805, 806 (quoted), 886. *See also* Pitt, William (the elder).
 —, John Pitt, 2nd Earl, 863.
 Chathamites, the, 808-809.
Chesapeake, the (ship), 865.
 Chelmsford, Lord, 1041.
 Chelsea, 926.
 Cheltenham, 826.
 Chemistry, 985.
 Chernaya, battle of the, 917.
 Chesterfield, Lord, 770, 783 (quoted), 844.
 Chifney, Sam, 826.
 Childers, H. C. E., 928, 939.
 Chilianwála, battle of, 1013.
 China, wars with, 897, 918-919.
 —, Partition of, 958.
 Chippenham Election Petition, 772.
 Chiswick, 881.
 Chitral, 1020.
 Christian v., King of Denmark, 737.
 — ix. of Denmark, 921.
 — *Year*, Keble's, 967, 987.
 Christina, Queen-Regent of Spain, 892.
- Chronicle, Morning*, the, 799.
 Church Buildings Acts, Peel's, 969.
 — of England, 723-724, 738, 745, 748, 779-782, 821-823, 965-970.
 — in Wales, 953.
 — in Ireland, 843, 890, 929. *See also* Irish Church.
 — Missionary Society, 822.
 — Patronage Act (Scotland), 934.
 — of Scotland. *See* Scotland, Church of.
 — Temporalities (Ireland) Act, 890.
 — Rates abolished, 970.
 Churchill, Arabella, 743.
 —, John, Lord, 723. *See also* Marlborough.
 —, Lord Randolph, 944, 945.
 Circulating Schools, Welsh, 782.
 Cintra, Convention of, 862.
 Ciudad Rodrigo, 865.
 Civil Service, the, 962.
 Clanranald, Macdonalds of, 759, 762.
 Clare, John Fitzgibbon, Earl of, 848, 849, 850.
 — Election, 883, 884.
 Clarence, William, Duke of, 869, 880, 882. *See also* William iv.
 Clarendon, George, 4th Earl of, 912, 928, 932.
 Clarke, Mrs., 859.
 Clarkson, Thomas, 825.
 Clasper, Henry, 984.
 Claverhouse. *See* Dundee.
 Clearances after the Irish Famine, 907-908.
 Clear-grits, the, 1034.
 Clerkenwell Prison, 928.
 Clifton, 826.
 Clinton, General, 807.
 Clive, Robert, 785, 786, 790, 997-999.
 Clontarf, 900.
Club, the (Scotland), 725, 750.
 —, the Literary, 831.
 Cluny Macpherson, 759.
 Clyde, Lord, 1016.
 Coaches, 816.
 Coalbrookdale, 817.
 Coalfields, the, 817.
 Coalition Ministry (1783), 809-810.
 — (1852-1855), 912-915.
 — Ministries (1760-1770), 795-802.
 —, the First, 836-837.
 —, the Second, 838-839.
 —, the Third, 854-856.
 Cobbett, William, 869, 879, 988.
 Cobden, Richard, 902, 903, 906, 913, 921, 923, 939, 977.
 Cochrane, Thomas, afterwards 10th Earl of Dundonald, 877, 878.
 Codrington, Admiral Sir Edward, 878.
 Coercion, 836, 868, 940.
 — Act (1833), 890.
 — Bill (1846), 905.

- Coffee, King of Ashantee, 933.
Coinage, reform of the, 732.
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 833, 968, 986.
Colley, Sir George, 1041.
Colling, the brothers, 819.
Collingwood, Admiral, 855.
Collins, the Deist, 779.
Cologne, Elector of, 740.
Colonies, the English, 786-787, 802-807, 861, 1023-1049.
Colonisation Society, the, 1032.
Coltbrigg, the Canter of, 776.
Columbia River, 899.
Combination Laws, the, 880, 978.
Commercial Treaty with France, Cobden's, 921, 923.
Committee Room No. 15, 946.
Common fields, 819, 820.
Commoner, the Great, 783.
Commons, the House of. *See* Parliament.
Commonwealth of Australia, the, 1038-9.
Communication, means of, in 18th century, 816-817.
— in 19th century, 973-975.
Company, the Chartered (1889), 1044.
Comprehension Bill, the, 723.
Compton, Sir Spencer, 768, 773. *See also* Wilmington, Lord.
Concert of Ancient Music, the, 829-830.
Conciliation with America, 803-804.
Concord (Mass.), 804.
Concordat, Napoleon's, 851.
Conduct of the Allies, the, 745.
Confederates, the, 922.
Congregational Union, the, 970.
Congress at Philadelphia, 804, 805.
Connecticut, 786.
Conservative Reactions, 898, 933-934.
Conservatives, the, 893-894, 898, 903, 904, 905, 911, 919, 924.
Conspiracy Laws, 978.
— to Murder Bill, the, 919.
Constable, John, 981.
Constantinople, 859, 936, 937.
Constitution of England, 524-531, 679.
— Act (Canada), 1024.
— of the year 1111, 837.
— VIII., 839.
Constitutional Custom, 756.
Continental Army, the (America), 805, 807, 827.
— System, the, 859, 861, 865.
Convention Parliament of 1688, 723, 724.
— of the Estates (Scotland), 724.
—, the Pretoria, 1042.
—, the London, 1042, 1043.
Convicts, transportation of, 1029, 1036, 1037.
Conyngnam, Lady, 874.
Cook, Captain James, 1026-1027, 1028, 1029.
Cooke (inventor), 975.
Coolies, 1030-1031.
Coomassie, 933.
Co-operation, 976.
Coorg, Annexation of, 1010.
Coote, Sir Eyre, 786, 790, 807, 1001.
Cope, General John, 776.
Copenhagen, battles of, 839, 859.
Copleston, Bishop, 967.
Copley, 880. *See also* Lyndhurst.
Cork, 728, 844, 901.
Corn-Law Rhymes, Elliott's, 901.
Corn Laws, 820, 868, 898, 902, 904, 905.
—, price of, 820.
—, trade, 819-820.
Cornwall, 970.
Cornwallis, Admiral, 854.
—, Charles, first Marquis of, 807, 850, 1004-1005, 1007.
Corporations, 891.
Corporation Act, the, repealed, 882.
— Acts (Irish), the, 895.
Corry Arrack, 776.
Corsica, 796, 837.
Corstorphine, 776.
Cortes, the Spanish, 733.
Coruña, battle of, 862-863.
Cottenham, Lord Chancellor, 906.
Cottiers, 841, 848.
Cotton Famine, the, 922.
—, trade, 814-815.
County Councils Acts, 950, 958.
Coup d'Etat of 2nd December 1851, 909.
Couplet, the heroic, 830.
Covenant, the National, 725.
Coventry, 816.
Cowper, Earl, 939, 940.
—, William, 822, (quoted) 825, 826-827, 832.
Crabbe, George, 832, (quoted) 965, 966.
Craftsman, the, 770.
Craggs, James, the elder, 764, 767.
—, James, the younger, 764, 767.
Cranborne, Lord, 926, 934. *See* Salisbury, Marquis of.
Crete, 937, 955.
Cricketer, 984.
Crimean War, 913-917, 1015.
Crimes Act, the Irish, 945.
Criminal Law, the, 824.
—, Reform of the, 878-879.
Crisis, Commercial (1825), 879.
— (1847), 919.
— (1866), 925.
Crofters, 778.
Croker, J. W., 893.
Crome, Old, 981.
Cromer, Lord, 956.
Crompton, Samuel, 815.
Cronje, General, 1047.
Cronstadt, 914.

- Cross, R. A. (afterwards Lord), 934, 977.
 Crown, powers of the, 721, 731, 735, 755-756, 792-795, 869, 897-898, 959.
 Cruikshank, George, 982.
 Cuba, 796.
 Cugnot, 974.
 Culloden, battle of, 777.
 Cumberland, Ernest, Duke of, 869.
 See also Ernest, King of Hanover.
 —, George, of Denmark, Duke of, 737. *See also* George.
 —, William, Duke of, 775, 777, 789, 791, 826.
 Curates, the (Scottish), Rabbling of the, 724.
 Curran, John P., 850.
 Curzon, Lord, of Kedleston, 1020.
 Cutts, General, 742.
 Cyfarthfa Works, 815.
 Cyprus, 937.
- DAILY NEWS, the, 990-991.
 D'Alembert, 833.
 Dalhousie, James Ramsay, Earl, afterwards Marquis of, 898, 1013-1014.
 Dalrymple, James, Lord Stair, 725.
 —, John, Master of Stair, 725, 726.
 —, Sir Hew, 862.
 Dalton, John, 985.
 Damaraland, 1043.
 Dampier, Captain William, 1026.
 Danby, Thomas Osborne, Earl of, 722.
 See also Carmarthen, Marquis of, and Leeds, Duke of.
 Danubian Principalities, the, 884, 913.
 Dardanelles, the, 913.
 Darien Company, 752.
 — Scheme, the, 732-733.
 Darling, Governor, 1036, 1038.
 Dartmouth, Lord, 825.
 Darwin, Charles, 985, 1027, 1028.
 Davis, Thomas, 900.
 Davitt, Michael, 928.
 Davy, Sir Humphry, 985.
 Deasy (Fenian), 928.
 Death Duties, the, 953.
 Debt, Conversions of the National, 765, 779, 950.
 Deccan, the, 785.
 Declaration of Independence (America), 804.
 — (Ireland), 846.
 Declaratory Act (Ireland), 842.
 —, Rockingham's, 803.
 —, repealed, 846.
Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Gibbon's, 832.
 Dee, the river, 817.
 Defoe, Daniel, 736, 745, 831.
 Deists, the English, 779, 831.
 Delane (editor of the *Times*), 990.
 Delaware (the colony), 786.
- Delhi (capital of the Mogul Empire), 997, 1007, 1015.
 Demerara, 1029.
 Democracy, 924, 944, 959.
 Denmark, 737, 839, 859, 861.
 De Quincey, Thomas, 988.
 Derby, 815.
 —, the march to, 777.
 —, Edward Stanley, 14th Earl of, 911, 919, 925, 928, 1017. *See also* Stanley, Lord.
 —, Edward Stanley, 15th Earl of, 927, 934, 937. *See also* Stanley, Lord.
 Derby-Disraeli Ministry, the first, 911.
 —, the second, 919.
 —, the third, 925-928.
 Derry, Lord Bristol, Bishop of, 847.
 —, relief of, 727.
 Derwentwater, Earl of, 757, 763, 827.
 Dettingen, battle of, 774.
 Devizes, 896.
 Devon Commission, the, 901.
 Devonshire, William Cavendish, 1st Duke of, 730.
 —, William Cavendish, 4th Duke of, 783.
 —, Spencer Cavendish, the 10th Duke of, 954. *See* Hartington, Marquis of.
 Dickens, Charles, 989, 991.
 Diderot, (quoted) 796, 833.
 Differential Duties, 1031.
 Dilke, Sir Charles, 939.
 Dillon, John, 900.
 Directory, the Executive, 837, 839.
 Dispensing Power, 724.
 Display, 826.
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 903-905, 911, 919, 924-939, 968, 977, 990, 992. *See also* Beaconsfield, Earl of.
 —, Isaac, 903.
 — Ministry, the, 933-939.
 Dissenters, 723, 738, 739, 748, 764, 779, 782, 821, 823, 882, 193, 939, 970.
 Divine Right of Kings, 721.
 Diwan, the, 998.
 Doab, the, 1005, 1006, 1007.
 Dolben's Act, 825.
 Dominica, 1025.
 —, Rodney's victory off, 807.
 Dominion of Canada, 1035.
 Donauwörth, 741.
 Dongola, 956.
 Dorchester Heights, 804.
 Dost Mohammed, 1010, 1011, 1013, 1018.
 Douart, the Macleans of, 759.
 Double Government, the system of, 1003.
Doutelle, the (ship), 775.
 Drama, the, in the 18th century, 830.
 —, the, in the 19th century, 984.
Drapier's Letters, Swift's, 845.
 Dresden, Treaty of, 775.

- Dress in 18th century, 827-828.
 Dreyfus Case, the, 957.
 Drinking, 826.
 Drogheda, 727.
 Drummond, House of, 759.
 —, William, 546.
 Dual Alliance, the, 948-949.
 — Control, the, 938, 941.
 — ownership in land, 930, 940.
 — system of Indian Government, 998-999.
 Dublin, 727, 728, 843, 844, 847, 849, 850, 852, 874, 940.
 — Castle, 844, 846.
 — University, 844, 933, 993.
Dublin Magazine, the, 991.
Dublin Society, the, 844.
 Duckworth, Admiral, 859.
 Dudley, Lord, 882.
 Dufferin, Marquis of, 1019.
 Duffy, Charles Gavan, 900.
 Duleek, Pass of, 728.
 Dunbar, 776.
 Duncan, Admiral, 837.
Dunciad, the, 830.
 Dundalk, 727.
 Dundas, Henry, 839, 853, 876. *See also* Melville, Lord.
 Dundee, 835, 926.
 — (Natal), 1047.
 —, James Graham, Viscount, 725-726.
 Dungannon, convention at, 846.
 Dunkeld, 726.
 Dunkirk, 747, 775, 809.
 Dupleix, François Joseph, 784, 786, 997, 998.
 Durán Kings, 1010.
 Durham breed of cattle, the, 819.
 —, Lord, 887, 893, 1034.

 EAST AFRICA, German, 1043.
 — India Company, English, 732, 784, 803, 919, 1017. *See also* India.
 — French, 784. *See also* India.
 — Retford, 882, 886.
 Eastern Question, the, 913, 935-938, 955.
 — Roumelia, 937.
 Ecclesiastical Commission, the, 890, 969.
 — Tithes Bill, 910, 971.
 Economists, 1007.
 Economical Reform, 800, 808.
 Edgeworth, Miss, 989.
 Edinburgh, 724, 769, 776, 990.
 — *Letter*, Russell's, 904.
 — *Review*, the, 990.
 Education, Elementary, 991-992
 —, Secondary, 992.
 —, Higher, 992-993.
 Education Department, the, 953, 991.
 Egypt, 838, 859, 878, 922, 938, 941-943, 948, 949, 956-957.
 Elcho, Lord, 925.
 Eldon, Lord Chancellor, 857, 875, 879, 880, 881, 884.
 Elections, General, 734, 735, 746, 748, 772, 783, 810, 888, 889, 894, 898, 911, 919, 928, 933, 939, 943, 944.
 Electioneering, 756.
 Electricity, 985.
 Elementary Education Act (1870), 933, 992.
 Elephanta, 1001.
 Elgin, Lord, 1017, 1034.
 —, son of preceding, 1019.
 Elliott, General, 807.
 Elizabeth, Czarina of Russia, 778, 789, 796.
 — Farnese, Queen of Spain, 771.
 Ellenborough, Edward Law, 1st Lord (Lord Chief-Justice), 857.
 —, Edward Law, 2nd Lord (Governor-General of India), 1011-1012.
 Ellesmere Canal, 817.
 Elliott, Ebenezer, 901-902.
 Elphinstone, General, 1011.
 —, Governor, 1016.
 Emancipists, 1037.
 Emigration, Irish, 842, 908.
 —, English, 1031-1032.
 Emmet, Thomas, 848, 852.
 —, Robert, 852.
 Empire, the Holy Roman, 729, 740, 775, 856.
 Employers' Liability Act, 940.
 Enclosure Acts, 820.
 Encumbered Estates Act, the, 908.
Encyclopédie, the, 833.
 Endowed Schools Act, 930, 934, 992.
 — Commission, 934.
 Engraving, 829, 982.
 Enniscorthy, 849.
 Enniskillen, 726, 727.
 Epsom, 826.
 Epworth, 880.
Erebus, the (ship), 1028.
 Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, afterwards King of Hanover, 926. *See also* Cumberland, Ernest, Duke of.
 Erromanga, 1028.
 Erskine, Ebenezer, 822.
 —, Lord Chancellor, 857.
 Essay, the, Periodical, 830-831.
Essays and Reviews, 969.
 Essequibo, 1029.
 Etty, William, 981.
 Eugene of Savoy, Prince, 741, 742, 743, 744.
 Eupatoria, 914.
 Evangelicals, 821, 823, 966, 968.
 —, Scotch, 822, 823, 971.
 Evans, General De Lacy, 892.

- Evans, Marian, 990. *See also* George Eliot.
- Eversley, 969.
- Evictions, Irish, 907-908.
- Evolution, 985-988.
- Examiner*, the, 745.
- Exchequer Bills, 732.
- Excise Scheme, Walpole's, 769.
- Executive Government, the, 959-962.
- Experiment*, the (railway coach), 974.
- Explanation of the Act of Settlement, Act of, 727.
- Eylau, battle of, 859.
- Eyre, Governor, 1031.
- FACTORY ACTS**, 824, 902, 932, 978.
— System, the, 818.
- Falkirk, battles of, 777.
- Falkland Islands, 797.
- Family Compact, the (1761), 795, 798.
- Famine, the Irish (1845-47), 904, 906, 908.
- Famines, Indian, 997, 1017, 1020, 1021.
- Fancy Franchises, 919.
- Faraday, Michael, 985.
- Farming, 819-820, 973.
- Farnese, Elizabeth, 771.
- Fashoda, 957.
- Fawcett, Henry, 933, 939.
- Fechter (actor), 984.
- Federal Council for Australia, 1038.
- Federals, the, 922.
- Federation, Imperial, 1035, 1048.
—, South African, 1041, 1048.
- Fenians, the, 927-928, 1034.
- Fenwick, Sir John, 730.
- Ferdinand vi. of Spain, 795.
— vii. of Spain, 861, 876-877, 892.
- Fielden, John, 977.
- Fielding, Henry, 827, 830, 831.
- Figueras, 862.
- Fiji, 1039.
- Finality John, 925.
- Finance, 731-732, 922, 923.
- Finchley, 779.
- Finisterre, battle off Cape, 854.
- Finland, 859.
- Finlay, the historian, 909.
- Finsbury, 888.
- Fishguard, 837.
- Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 848, 849.
—, Vesey, 883.
- Fitzgibbon, John, 848, 849, 850. *See also* Clare, Lord.
- Fitzwilliam, Lord, 836, 849.
- Five Points of the People's Charter*, the, 895.
- Flaxman, John, 816, 829.
- Fletcher, Andrew, of Salton, 725, 750, 752.
- Fleurus, battle of, 729.
- Fleury, Cardinal, 770-771.
- Flinders, 1027.
- Flood, Henry, 845, 846, 847.
- Florida, 786, 796, 809.
- Fontenoy, battle of, 775.
- Football, 984.
- Footie, 830.
- Forbes, Duncan, of Culloden, 759, (quoted) 776.
- Forster, Thomas, 757, 762, 763.
—, W. E., 928, 930-931, 939, 940, 992.
- Fort Augustus, 776.
- Duquesne, 787, 791.
- Frontenac, 787, 791.
- Niagara, 787.
- St. George, 784.
- Toronto, 787.
- William, 784.
— William Henry, 789.
- Forth and Clyde Canal, the, 817, 973.
- Fortnightly Review*, the, 991.
- Foster, Birket, 982.
- Fox, Charles, 800, 808-813, 827, 835, 836, 846, 852, 853, 856-857.
—, Henry, Lord Holland, 774, 783, 800.
- Foyle, Lough, 727.
- France, 728-730, 740, 741, 744-745, 747, 764, 771, 772, 774, 775, 778, 784, 795-798, 805-809, 811, 813, 825, 833-840, 848-849, 850, 851-868, 877, 884, 885, 891-892, 896-897, 899, 900-901, 911, 912-917, 919, 921, 927, 931-932, 938, 948, 949, 956-957, 958, 1020, 1043.
- Francis I., Roman Emperor, 775.
— ii., Roman Emperor, afterwards Francis I. of Austria, 856.
— Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 909.
—, Duke of Lorraine, 771.
—, Sir Philip, 1002, 1003.
- Franco-German War, the, 931-932.
- Frankfurt, 868, 908.
—, peace of, 932.
- Franklin, Dr. Benjamin, 803, 985.
—, Sir John, 1028.
- Fraser Clan, 759.
—, General, 859.
- Fraser's Magazine*, 990.
- Frederick Prince of Wales, 770, 791, 829.
—, Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards Frederick I. of Prussia, 740.
— ii., the Great, King of Prussia, 774, 775, 778, 779, 789, 790, 796, 806, 813, 840.
— vii. of Denmark, 921.
— William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, 740.
— William I., King of Prussia, 740, 771, 774.
— iv. of Prussia, 909, 921.
— iii., King of Prussia and German Emperor, 948.
- Free Church of Scotland, 971-972.
- Freeholder*, the, 831.
- Freeman, E. A., 989.
—, Mrs., 737.

- Freethinkers, the French, 823.
 Free Trade, 811, 820, 879-880, 902-905, 1031.
 French policy in India, 1001, 1002, 1005, 1008.
 — Revolution, 825.
 —, effects of, on England, 835-836.
 —, the wars against the, 836-840.
 —, General, 1047.
 Frere, Sir Bartle, 1018.
 Friedland, battle of, 859.
 Friendly Societies Acts, Northcote's, 934.
 Frost, the Chartist, 806.
 Froude, James Anthony, 989.
 Fuentes de Oñoro, battle of, 864.
 Fulton, 973.
 Fundy, Bay of, 787.

 GÁEKWÁR, the (of Baroda), 997, 1007, 1017-1018.
 Gage, General, 804.
 Gainsborough, Thomas, 829.
 Galt, 989.
 Galway, 901.
 —, Ruvigny, Earl of, 743.
 Gambetta, Leon, 932.
 Gambia, 956.
 Gambling, 826.
 Gandamak, Treaty of, 1018.
 Ganges Canal, the, 1014.
 Gantheaume, Admiral, 854.
 Gardiner, Colonel, 776.
 —, S. R., 989.
 Garibaldi, 909, 920.
 Garrick, David, 830, 832.
 Gaskell, Mrs., 990.
 Gates, General, 805.
 Gatton, 885.
 Gauges, battle of the, 974.
 Gay, 830.
 General Assembly of the Scottish Church, the, 725, 823, 971.
 — Warrants, 797.
 Geneva, 932.
 Genoa, 900.
Gentle Shepherd, the, 832.
 Gentry, the smaller, 821.
 Geology, 985.
 George I., 754-767, 825, 845.
 — II., 749, 763, 767-791, 809, 825, 829.
 — III., 777, 792-813, 825, 826, 845-849, 882, 1003.
 — IV., 809, 813, 825, 828, 858, 864, 869, 875, 881-884.
 — Louis, Elector of Hanover, 748.
 See also George I.
 —, Prince of Wales, 763. *See* George II.
 —, Prince of Wales, afterwards Prince Regent and George IV., 809, 813.
 George, Electoral Prince of Hanover, 749. *See also* George II.
 — V., King of Hanover, 926-7.
 — of Denmark, Prince, 737.
 — of Greece, Prince, 955.
 — Eliot, 990.
 Georgia, 780, 786, 807.
Germ, the (periodical), 981.
 Germantown, battle of, 805.
 Germany, 885, 892, 908-909, 921, 932, 948, 949, 955, 956, 958, 1043. *See also* Empire and Austria.
 Gertruydenberg, Conference of, 744.
 Ghazni, 996, 1011, 1018, 1019.
 Ghent, Treaty of, 866.
 Gibbon, Edward, 832.
 Gibraltar, 743, 747, 771, 807, 1026.
 Gibson, John, 982.
 Gilbert (sculptor), 982.
 — (writer of Extravaganzas), 983.
 Gilbert's Act, 821.
 Gillray, 829.
 Ginkel, General, 728.
 Girtin, 981.
 Gladstone, W. E., 898, 904, 912, 913, 918, 920, 922-923, 925-944, 946, 947, 950, 951, 970, 1042.
 — Ministry, the first, 928-933.
 —, the second, 939-943, 1042.
 —, the third, 944.
 —, the fourth, 951-952.
 Gladstonians, the, 950, 954.
 Glasgow, 814, 815, 873, 926, 943, 1025.
 Glencoe, Macdonald of, 759.
 —, Massacre of, 726.
 Glenfinnan, 776.
 Glengarry, Macdonald of, 759.
 Glenshiel, 767.
 Gloucester, 822.
 — and Berkeley Canal, 817.
 Glücksburg, House of, 921.
 Gneisenau, General, 866, 867.
 Goderich, Lord, 881, 887, 893. *See also* Ripon, Earl of.
 Godolphin, Sidney, Lord, 722, 723, 731, 735, 738, 739, 747, 751.
 Godwin, William, 835.
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 830, 831, 844.
 Gordon, Duke of, 724.
 —, Lord George, 806.
 — Riots (1780), 806.
 —, Charles George, General, 941-942.
 Gorham Judgment, the, 968.
 Goschen, G. J., 928, 944, 945, 954.
 Gothic Revival, the, 828, 979-980. *See also* Architecture.
 Gough, Sir Hugh, 1012, 1013.
 Goulburn, 880, 898, 912.
 Gould (Fenian), 928.
 Grafton, A. H. Fitzroy, 3rd Duke of, 799.
 Graham, Sir James, 887, 893, 898, 912, 918.

- Grampound, 886.
 Grand Alliance, the (1702), 736, 738.
 — Army, Napoleon's, 865.
 Grand Tour, the, 826.
 — Juries (Irish), 844.
 — Trunk Canal, 817.
 Grant (politician), 881, 882.
 — (African traveller), 1027.
 Granville, Earl, formerly Lord Carteret, 773, 774, 796.
 —, Earl, 910, 920, 932, 939.
 Grasse, Admiral, 807, 1025.
 Grattan, Henry, 946, 947, 949, 950, 982.
 Grattan's Parliament, 847-849.
 Gravina, Admiral, 854.
 Greece, 884, 900-910, 936, 937, 955.
 —, revolt of, 877-878.
 Green, John Richard, 989.
 —, Thomas Hill, 988.
 Greenwich, 888.
 Gregory (Australian traveller), 1027.
 Grenada, 796, 1025.
 Grenadines, the, 1025.
 Grenville, Lord, 839, 852, 853, 856, 857, 859, 875, 1007.
 —, George, 797, 799, 802, 839.
 —, Lady Hester, 782, afterwards Lady Hester Pitt and Countess of Chatham.
 Grenville's Act, 799.
 Greville, Charles (quoted), 858, 875, 876, 885, 887, 889, 892, 893, 895, 898, 912.
 —, Fulk, Lord Brooke, 546.
 Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl, 857, 875, 886, 887-893.
 —, Henry, 3rd Earl, 904, 906.
 —, Sir George, 906.
 —, Paul, 982.
 — Ministry, the, 787-793, 1009.
 Grimaldi, Joseph, 984.
 Grimshaw, 822.
 Griqualand West, 1040.
 Griquas, the, 1040.
 Grote, George, 903, 988, 989, 993.
 Ground Game Act, 940.
 Grub Street, 830.
 Guadeloupe, 796.
Guardian, the, 831.
 Guards, the, 916.
 Gubat, 942.
 Guiana, British, 867, 955, 1029, 1030.
 Guizot, 899.
 Gujrat, 997.
 Gujrat, battle of, 1013.
Gulliver's Travels, 831.
 Gürkhas, the, 1008.
 Gwalior, 997. *See also* Sindhia.
 HABEAS CORPUS ACT suspended, 836, 869, 927.
 Hackney, Borough of, 926.
 Haidar Ali, 807, 1001.
 Hair powder, 927.
 Halifax (Nova Scotia), 1035.
 — (Yorkshire), 815.
 —, Charles Montague, Lord, 731, 735.
 —, George Savile, Marquis of, 237.
 Hallam, Henry, 988, 989.
 Hallamshire, 816.
 Hamilton, Duke of, 724, 751.
 —, Sir William Rowan, 985.
 Hampden, Bishop, 967.
 Handel, Frederick, 829, 844.
 — *Commemoration*, the, 830.
 Hanover, the Treaty of (1726), 771.
 —, 735, 749, 754, 774, 789, 790, 856, 867, 926.
 Harcourt, Simon, Lord, 739, 746, 748.
 —, Sir William, 939, 951, 953, 954.
 Hardenberg, Count, 865.
 Hardinge, Lord, 1012-1013.
 Hardwick, Lord Chancellor—his Marriage Act, 779.
 Hardy (Radical), 836.
 Hardy, Gathorne, afterwards Lord Cranbrook, 934.
 Hargreaves, James, 815.
 Harley, Robert, 739, 765. *See also* Oxford, Robert Harley, Earl of.
 Harris, Howel, 782.
 —, General, 1006.
 Harrowby, Lord, 773, 788.
 Hartington, the Marquis of, 919, 928, 935, 939, 944, 945. *See also* Devonshire, Tenth Duke of.
 Harvey (artist), 822.
 Hastenbeck, battle of, 789.
 Hastings, the Marquis of, 1008.
 —, Warren, 807, 811-812, 999-1003.
 Hats, 827.
 Havana, 796.
 Havelock, General, 1016.
 Hawke, Admiral, 790.
 Hawksmoor (architect), 828.
 Hawley, General, 777.
 Haydon, Benjamin, 981.
 Haye, La, 866.
 — Sainte, La, 866.
 Hayti, 1030.
 Hazlitt, William, 986, 988.
 Hearth Tax abolished, 723.
Hearts of Steel, 845.
 Heavy Brigade, charge of the, 916.
 Henry, Cardinal of York, 777.
Herald, the, 799.
 Herat, 1010, 1015, 1019.
 Herbert, Sidney, 898, 912, 918.
 Hereditary Jurisdictions (Scotland) 758, 759, abolished 777-778.
 Heroic Couplet, the, 830.
 Herries, 881.
 Herschel, Sir John, 985.
 —, Sir William, 985.
 Hervey, James, 780, 821.
 —, Lord, 767, 768.
 Hicks Pasha, 941.

- Hicks-Beach, Sir Michael, 934, 943, 954.
 High Church, 724, 779, 780, 901, 965, 966-967.
 Highlands, the, 725, 726, 757-763, 775-778, 832, 971.
 Highland Regiments, the, 778.
 Hill, Abigail, 739. *See* Masham.
 —, Rowland, 895.
 —, Tribes (Indian), the, 995.
 Himalayas, the, 995, 1008.
 Hindi, 995.
 Hindostan, 995.
 Historical Method, the, 986.
 History, Writers of, in 18th century, 831-832.
 —, —, in 19th century, 989.
 Hoche, Lazare, 849.
 Höchstädt, 741.
 Hodson of Hodson's Horse, 1016.
 Hofer, A., 863.
 Hogarth, 826, 829.
 Hohenlinden, battle of, 839.
 Holkar (of Indore), 997, 1006-1007, 1008, 1016.
 Holland, 729, 734, 747, 771, 774, 778, 779, 806-809, 813, 836, 837, 840, 868, 885. *See* United Provinces and Dutch.
 —, Henry Fox, Lord, 800.
 Holy Alliance, the, 868, 871, 876-878, 892, 896.
 —, Places, the, 912-913.
 Home Rule (Irish), 935, 940, 944, 945-958.
 —, —, League, the, 935.
 Honduras, British, 1025.
 Hone, the bookseller, 869.
 Hong-Kong, 897, 958, 1039.
 Hook, Walter Farquhar, 967.
 Horne Tooke (quoted), 827, 830.
 Horse-racing, 826.
 Hougomont, 866.
 Household Suffrage, 926, 943.
 Household Words, 991.
 Houses of Parliament. *See also* Lords, Commons, and Parliament.
 Howard, John, 826.
 Howe, Admiral Lord, 808.
 —, General Lord, 791.
 —, General Sir William, 805.
 Howick, Lord, 857, 875. *See also* Grey, Earl.
 Hubertsburg, Peace of, 796.
 Hudson, George, 975.
 —, Bay Territory, 747.
 Humbert, General, 850.
 Hume, David, 752, 831.
 Hume, Joseph, 903.
 Hundred Days, the (1815), 866.
 Hungary, 740-741, 774, 908, 909.
 Hunt, Holman, 981.
 —, the orator, 868.
 Huntingdon, Selina, Countess of, 781, 782, 822.
 Hursley, 967.
 Huske, General, 777.
 Huskisson, William, 853, 876, 878-880, 881, 882, 886, 972, 974.
 Hutcheson, Francis, 844.
 Hutton, James, 985.
 IBRAHIM PASHA, 878, 892, 938.
Ideal of a Christian Church, Ward's, 968.
Idler, the, 831.
 Impeachment, 735, 745.
 Imperial Federation, 1048.
 Impey, Sir Elijah, 1002.
 Impressionists, the, 982.
 Income tax, the, 902.
 Indemnity Acts, 764, 823.
 —, Act (Canadian), 1034.
 Independence, Declaration of (America), 804.
 India, 784, 798, 809-810, 811, 827, 838, 919, 932, 949, 956, 995-1022.
 —, Bill, Fox's, 809-810.
 —, —, Pitt's, 811, 1003.
 —, —, (1858), 1017.
 Indian Council, the, 1017.
 Indians (North American), 786.
 Indore, 997. *See also* Holkar.
 Industrial Revolution, the, 814-821.
 Inglis, Sir Robert, 884.
 Ingoldstadt, 741.
 Intendants, 834.
 Inventions, 814-816, 973.
 Invincibles, the, 940.
 Ireland, 726, 728, 738, 806, 808, 811, 816, 837, 840-851, 852, 874, 876, 882-884, 886, 889-890, 895, 901-904, 906-908, 927, 928, 929-930, 935, 940, 943-944, 945, 958, 962, 970, 992-993.
 —, Union of, with England, 850, 851.
Irene, Johnson's play, 827, 830.
 Irish Brigade, the, 775.
 —, Church, 843, 851, 890, 928, 929.
 —, —, Act, 929.
 —, —, Dragoons, the, 777.
 —, —, Republican Brotherhood, 927.
 —, *See also* Fenians.
Irish People, the (newspaper), 927.
 Iron Trade, the, 815-816, 972.
 Irving, Henry, 984.
 Irwell River, 817.
 Isabella, Queen of Spain, 892, 899.
 Isandlana, 1041.
 Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, 938.
 Italy, 837, 839, 856, 867, 885, 892, 908-909, 920-921, 948.
 JACKSON (architect), 980.
 Jacobins, the, 827, 834, 837.
 Jacobite Conspiracy (1713-14), 747-749.

- Jacobite Rising in 1715, 757-763.
 — (1719), 767.
 — of 1745-46, 775-778.
 Jacobites, the, 727.
 Jágir, Clive's, 998.
 Jahángir, 996.
 Jalálábád, 1011.
 Jamaica, 807, 895, 1025, 1030.
 James II. of England, 724, 725, 727, 728, 729, 730, 736, 743.
 — Prince of Wales. *See* Pretender, the Old.
 Jameson, Dr., 1045.
 Jameson's Raid, 956, 1045.
 Jang Bahadúr, 1016.
 Japan, 957, 958.
 Java, 1008, 1030.
 Jena, battle of, 859.
 Jenkins' ears, the story of, 772.
 Jennings, Sarah. *See* Marlborough, Sarah, Duchess of.
 Jervis, Sir John, 837. *See also* St. Vincent, Lord.
 Jews, 823.
 — admitted to Parliament, 970.
 Jhánsi, 1014, 1015.
 — the Rání of, 1015-1016.
 Johannesburg, 1043, 1045, 1048.
 Johnson, Dr., 827, 831.
 Joint-Stock Banks established, 879.
 Jones the Chartist, 896.
 —, Griffith of Llanddowror, 782.
 —, Paul, 806.
 Joseph Electoral Prince of Bavaria, 734.
 — I., Emperor, 745.
 — II., Emperor, 813, 833.
 Joule, Dr., 985.
 Joyce (radical), 836.
 Jubilee, Queen Victoria's, 944, 949.
 — — — Diamond, 958.
 Judges, tenure of the, 736.
 Judicature Acts, 931, 934.
Junius, 799, 886, 1002.
 Junot, Marshal, 862.
Juntas, revolutionary, 861.
 Junto, the Whig, 731, 739.
 KÁBUL, 1010, 1011, 1018, 1019.
 Kadikoi, 916.
 Kaffir Wars, 1040.
 Kaffirland, 1040.
 Kánarese, 995.
 Kandahár, 1010, 1011, 1019, 1047.
 Karnátik, the, 785, 806, 997, 998, 1001, 1004, 1006.
 Kars, 917, 937.
 Kasach Bay, 915.
 Káthiawár, 997.
 Kaunitz, 789.
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir James, 991.
 Kean, Charles, 984.
 Keats, John, 987.
 Keble, John, 967, 987.
 Keene, Charles, 982.
 Kelly (Fenian), 928.
 Kelso, 762.
 Kemble, Charles (actor), 984.
 — (historian), 989.
 Ken, Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 724.
 Kendal, the Duchess of, 845.
 Kenmare, Lord, 762, 763.
 Kennington Common, 910.
 Kent, Victoria, Duchess of, 894.
 —, Edward, Duke of, 869.
Kentish Petition, the, 736.
 Keogh (Irish politician), 927.
 Keppel, Admiral, 806.
 —, Arnold Joost Van, 723. *See also* Albemarle.
 Keppoch, Macdonald of, 759.
 Khaibar Pass, 1011, 1018.
 Khalifa, the, 956, 957.
 Khartum, 941-942, 957.
 Kherson, 824.
 Khurd-Kábul Pass, 1011.
 Killala, 850.
 Killiecrankie, battle of, 726.
 Kilmainham, Treaty, the, 940.
 Kilmarnock, Lord, 777.
 Kilwarden, Lord Chief-Justice (Ireland), 852.
 Kimberley, Lord, 939.
 — (South Africa), 1044, 1047.
 Kinburn, 965.
 King's College, London, 967, 969, 993.
 — Friends, the, 795.
 Kinglake (historian), 989.
 Kingsley, Charles, 969, 977, 990.
 Kingstown, 874.
 Kingswood, 780.
 Kinsale, 727-728.
 Kipling, Rudyard, 990.
 Kitchener, Sir Herbert, afterwards Lord Kitchener of Khartum, 956, 957, 1047, 1048.
 Kloster Zeven, capitulation of, 789, 790.
 Kneller (painter), 829.
 Knight, Charles, 991.
 Knighton, Sir William, 874.
 Koodoesberg, battle of, 1047.
 Kora, 998, 1000.
 Kornilov, Admiral, 915.
 Korti, 942.
 Kosciusko, 805.
 Kossuth, 908.
 Kruger, Paul, 1042, 1043, 1045, 1046, 1048.
 LABOURERS' Dwellings Act, Cross's, 934.
 Ladysmith, 1046, 1047, 1048.
 Lafayette, Marquis of, 805.
 La Hogue, battle of, 729.
 Lahore, 1012, 1013.

- Lake, General, 849, 1006, 1007, 1009.
 — School, the, 833, 986.
 Lally, Count, 886.
 Lamb, Charles, 986, 988.
 —, William, 881, 882, 887. *See* Melbourne, Lord.
 Lambeth, 888.
 Lampeter, 969.
 Lancashire, 814, 815, 816, 818, 922, 926.
 — Regiment, the, 777.
 Lancaster (teacher), 991.
 Land Act, the first Irish, 929-930.
 — second Irish, 940, 945.
 — Bank, the, 850.
 — Bill (Irish), 953.
 — League, the, 935.
 — System (Ireland), 841-842.
 — Tax, 731, 769.
 — Transfer Bill, Cairns's, 934.
 Landen, battle of, 729.
 Landor, Walter Savage, 985.
 Lang's Neck, 1041.
 Lansdowne, the 3rd Marquis of, 857, 881, 887, 912. *See also* Petty, Lord Henry.
 —, 5th Marquis of, Governor-General of India, 1019.
 Lapse, Dalhousie's Doctrine of, 1013.
 Larkin (Fenian), 928.
 Laswari, battle of, 1007.
 Latitudinarians, 724. *See also* Low Church.
 Lauzun, General, 727.
 Law Reform, 878, 922, 933.
 —, John, 765.
 —, William, 780.
 Lawless (Irish leader), 883.
 Lawrence, Henry, 1013, 1015.
 —, John, afterwards Lord Lawrence, 1013, 1016, 1017.
 — (farmer), 886.
 —, Sir Thomas, 981.
 Leech, John, 982.
 Leeds, 815, 886, 888, 926, 967, 974, 977, 993.
 —, the First Duke of, 731. *See also* Danby and Carmarthen.
 — *Mercury*, the, 990.
 Leeward Islands, the, 1025.
 Legion Memorial, the, 736.
 Leicester House, 770.
 Leicestershire sheep, 819.
 Leipzig, battle of, 865.
 Leopold I., Emperor, 734, 740, 745.
 — of Sachsen-Coburg, afterwards Leopold I. of Belgium, 869, 891.
 Leuthen, battle of, 790.
 Levellers, the (Ireland), 845.
 Lever, Charles, 990.
 Lewes, George Henry, 991.
 Lewis, Sir George C., 918, 920.
 Lexington, 804.
 Liberalism (Continental), 868, 871, 876.
 Liberals, the, 905, 920, 924.
 Liberal Unionists, 944, 954.
 Liberator, the, 900.
 Liège, 740.
 Light Brigade, charge of the, 916.
 Ligny, battle of, 866.
 Lille, 744.
 Limerick, the Treaty of, 728.
 Limitations (Scotland), 723, 750-751.
 Linen Trade, the, 816.
 — (Ireland), 842.
 Lingard, Dr., 989.
 Lisbon, 864, 877.
 Literature in 18th century, 830-832.
 — in 19th century, 986-991.
 Liverpool, 814, 817, 924, 943, 969, 993, 1025.
 — and Manchester Railway, 886, 974.
 —, Earl of, 858, 873, 876, 880.
 — *Mercury*, the, 990.
 Livingstone, David, 1027, 1028.
 Llanddowror, 782.
 Llangetho, 782.
 Llanidloes, 866.
 Lobositz, battle of, 789.
 Local Government, 962, 963.
 Local Veto Bill, 953.
 Lochaber, 759, 763.
 Lochiel, Cameron of, 759.
 Lochnanuagh, 775.
 Locke, John, 831, 845.
 Lockhart, John, 990.
 Lombardy, 920.
 London, 748, 806, 814, 816, 824, 826, 828, 829, 873, 888, 926, 928, 932, 943.
 —, Treaty of (1827), 876.
 — *Missionary Society*, 822.
 — University, 926, 993.
 Londonderry, 726, 727.
 —, Lord, 875, 876. *See also* Castle-reagh.
 Long Island, 805.
 Lords, the House of, 746, 756, 871, 888, 891, 897, 898, 923, 951-952, 954.
 Lorraine, 729, 771, 772, 932.
 Louis XIV., 728, 729, 733, 734, 735, 736, 744, 745.
 — xv., King of France, 757, 764, 772, 834.
 — xvi., King of France, 834, 836.
 — xviii., King of France, 865, 866, 867.
 — Philippe, King of the French, 885, 891-892, 896-897, 899, 908-909.
 — Napoleon, 909, 911. *See also* Napoleon III.
 —, the Dauphin, 733.
 Louisa, Infanta of Spain, 899.
 Louisbourg, 787, 790.
 Louisiana, 787, 796.
 Lovat, Simon, Lord, 759, 777.
 Low Church, 724, 779, 821-823.
 Lower Canada, 1024, 1033.

- Lowe, Robert, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, 925, 928, 933, 992.
 Loyalists, the American, 807, 808, 1024, 1028.
 Lucan, Lord, 916.
 Lucas, Charles, 845.
 Lucknow, 1015-1016.
 —, siege of, 1016.
 —, Treaty of, 1005.
 Lunéville, Treaty of, 839.
 Luxemburg, 927.
 —, Marshal, 729.
 Lydenburg, 1048.
 Lyell (geologist), 985.
Lying Lover, Steele's, 830.
 Lyndhurst, Lord, 880, 881, 884, 888, 898, 923.
 Lynton (engraver), 982.
 Lytton, Lord (novelist), 990.
 — (the younger), 941, 1018, 1019.
 MACARTHUR, Captain, 1036.
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, afterwards Lord, 897, 906, 988, 990, 1009-1010.
 Maccallum More. *See* Argyll, Dukes of.
 Macclesfield, 816.
 Macdonald Clan, 725, 726, 759, 775.
 —, Sir John (Canadian statesman), 1034, 1035.
 Macdougall Clan, 759.
 Macgregor Clan, 760.
 Maclean of Glencoe, 726.
 Mackay Clan, 759.
 —, General, 725, 726.
 Mackenzie (musician), 983.
 — (Canadian statesman), 1035.
 — Clan, 759.
 Mackintosh, Brigadier, 762, 763.
 —, Sir James, 835, 879.
 Maclean Clan, 725, 759.
 M'Carthy, Justin, 946.
 M'Clintock (Arctic voyager), 1028.
 Macmahon, Marshal, 917, 931.
 Macpherson, 832.
 — Clan, 759.
 Macquarie, Governor, 1036.
 Macready (actor), 984.
 Madagascar, 1042.
 Mádhaji Sindhiá, 1006.
 Madras, 784, 998, 1000, 1001, 1004, 1006, 1007.
 Madrid, 743, 744, 861, 862, 863, 865, 946.
 Magazines, 990-991.
 Magdala, 927.
 Magenta, battle of, 920.
 Magersfontein, 1047.
 Mahdi, the, 941-943, 956.
 Mahmúd of Ghazni, 996, 1011.
 Maida, battle of, 859.
 Maiwand, battle of, 1019.
 Majuba Hill, 1041, 1047.
Malachi Malagrowth, *Letters of*, 879.
 Malakov, the, 917.
 Malone, Prime Sergeant, 845.
 Malplaquet, battle of, 744.
 Malt Tax, 769.
 Malta, 838, 840, 851, 852, 867, 937.
 Malthus (political economist), 821.
 Málwá, 997, 1008.
 Mamelukes, the, 838.
 Manchester, 717, 815, 817, 868, 888, 902, 911, 926, 928, 943, 993.
 — School, the, 906, 914, 919, 939.
 — *Guardian*, the, 990.
 Manila, 796.
 Manitoba, 1035.
 Manners and Customs (18th century), 825-826.
 —, Lord John, 903.
 Mansfield, Lord Chief-Justice, 825.
 Manufactures in 18th century, 814, 816, 818.
 Maories, the, 1037.
 Mar, John Erskine, Earl of, 760, 763.
 Maráthá War, the first, 1001.
 —, the second, 853, 1006-1007.
 —, the third, 1008.
 Maráthás, the, 784, 996-997.
 Maráthi, 996.
 Marchand, Major, 957.
 Marengo, battle of, 839.
 Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria and Empress of the French, 864.
 —, Queen of Portugal, 877, 892.
 —, Theresa, Queen of France, 733.
 —, Queen of Hungary, 774, 775; Empress, 789, 813.
 Maritime Powers, the, 734, 771.
 Marlborough, John Churchill, Earl of, 728, 729, 730; Duke of, 738-746, 755.
 Marlborough, Sarah, Duchess of, 737, 739, 745.
 Maroons, the, 1030.
 Marriage Act, Hardwicke's, 779.
 —, the Royal, 800.
 Marryat, Captain, 989.
 Marsin, Marshal, 742.
 Martyn, Henry, 966.
 Mary II., Queen of England (wife of William III.), 722-730.
 Maryland, 786.
 Marylebone, 888.
 Masham, Abigail, Lady, 739, 746.
 Mashonaland, 1044.
 Mason (Confederate envoy), 922.
 Massachusetts, 786.
 Masséna, Marshal, 864, 865.
 Matabeleland, 1044.
 Mathematics, 985.
 Mathew, Father, quoted, 906.
 Maurice, Prince, Count Palatine, 885.
 —, F. D., 966-967.
 Mauritius, 867, 1008, 1029, 1039.

- Maxwell, James Clerk, 985.
 Maynooth, 901, 919.
 Mazzini, 909.
 Meagher, Thomas, 900, 910.
 Medici, House of, 771.
Meditations, Hervey's, 780.
 Meerut, 1015.
 Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, 878, 892, 896.
 Mehidpur, battle of, 1008.
 Mekong, the river, 1020.
 Melbourne, 1036, 1038.
 —, Lord, 881, 887, 893, 894, 898.
 Melville, George, Lord, 725.
 —, Henry Dundas, Lord, 853, 856.
 See also Dundas.
 Mendelssohn, 983.
 Menshikov, Prince, 913, 914, 915.
 Meredith, George, 990.
 Mersey, the, 817.
 Merthyr-Tydvil, 815, 926, 974.
Messiah, Handel's, 829, 844.
 Metcalfe, Sir Charles, 1010.
 Metemneh, 942.
 Methodists, the, 780-782, 818, 821, 822.
 —, American, 782.
 Methuen Treaty, 740, 784, 813-814.
 Metternich, Prince (Austrian minister), 877, 908.
 Metz, 931-932.
 Miáni, battle of, 1012.
 Middle-class Ascendancy, period of, 923-924.
 Middle passage, the, 825.
 Middlesbrough, 972.
Midlothian Speeches, Gladstone's, 939.
 Miguel, Dom, 877, 884, 892.
 Milan, 743, 747, 771, 929.
 Mill, James, 988.
 —, John Stuart, 988.
 Millais, Sir John Everett, 981, 982.
 Milner, Sir Alfred, 1046.
 —, Joseph, 822.
 Minden, battle of, 790.
 Ministers of State, the, 960-961.
 Minorca, 744, 747, 789, 796, 809.
 Minto, Lord, 1007-1008.
 Miquelon, 796, 809.
 Mir Jafar, 785, 786, 998.
 —, Kásim, 998.
 Missionaries, 822, 1028.
 Mississippi, 787, 796, 808.
 —, *Scheme*, 765.
 Missolonghi, 877.
 Mitchel, John, 910.
 Modena, 920.
Moderados, 909.
 Moderates, the (Scotland), 822-823.
Modern Painters, Ruskin's, 981.
 Moffat, 762.
 Mogul Empire, the, 784, 996-997, 998, 1000, 1007, 1015.
 Mohammedan Conquests of India, 996.
 Moidart, 775.
 Moira, Lord, 851, 1008. *See* Hastings, the Marquis of.
 Moldavia, 884, 913.
 Molesworth, Sir William, 906, 912.
 Molyneux, 845.
 Monetary Crisis (1797), 837.
 Mons, 743, 744.
 Monson, General, 1007.
 Monster Meetings, 900.
 Montcalm, Marquis of, 789, 791.
 Montenegro, 936, 937.
 Montpensier, Duke of, 899.
 Montrose, James Graham, Earl, and afterwards Marquis of, 725.
 —, Duke of, 758.
 — (town), 762.
 Montserrat, 1025.
 Moore, Sir John, 862, 863.
 —, Thomas, 987.
 Moravians, 780.
 Moreau, General, 839.
 Morley, Mrs., 737.
 Mornington, Lord, 1005, 1006. *See also* Wellesley, the Marquis.
 Mornay, 909.
 Morris, William, 980, 989.
 Mudki, battle of, 1012.
 Muir (Radical), 836.
 Mule, Crompton's, 815.
 Multán, 1013.
 Mulvi, the, 1015, 1016.
 Mundella (statesman), 979.
 Municipal Corporations Reform Act, 891.
 Murat, Joachim, King of Naples, 861.
 Murchison (geologist), 985.
 Murray (Australian traveller), 1027.
 — of Broughton, 776.
 —, Lord George, 776.
 Murrays of Atholl, the, 725.
 Murshidábád, 998.
 Murzaffar Jang, 785.
 Musc in 18th century, 829-830.
 — in 19th century, 982-983.
 Mutiny Act, the, 723.
 —, the Indian, 919, 1015, 1016.
 Mysore 806, 807, 838, 997, 1001-1002, 1005, 1006, 1010, 1019.
 — War, the first, 1001-1002.
 — —, the second, 1005.
 — —, the third, 1006.
 NAGPUR, 997. *See also* the Bhonslá.
 Naini-tal, 1008.
 Nairn, Lord, 763.
 Namur, 729, 743.
 Nana Sahib, 1014, 1015-1016.
 Nand Komár (Nuncomar), 1002.
 Napier, Admiral Sir Charles, 892, 914.
 —, Sir Charles (General), 1012, 1014.
 —, Sir R., afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, 927.
 —, Sir W., 989.

- Naples, 743, 747, 771, 854, 856, 859, 861, 867, 877.
 Napoleon I., First Consul, afterwards Emperor of the French, 839, 840, 851-852, 853-867.
 — III., Emperor of the French, 909, 911, 913, 917, 919, 920, 921, 931-932.
 Natal, 1041, 1046, 1047, 1048.
Nation, the (newspaper), 900.
 National Debt, 731, 765.
 — Gallery, the, 982.
 — League, the, 943.
 — Petition, the, 896.
 — Society, the, 991.
 Nationalist Party, the Irish, 935.
 Nationality, 852, 861, 865, 871-872.
 Naval Defence Act (1889), 950.
 Navarino, battle of, 878, 884.
 Navigation Acts, the, 732, 802, 879-880, 1025, 1031.
 —, inland, 817.
 Navy, the, 964-965.
 Nazir Jang, 785.
 Neerwinden, battle of, 729.
 Nelson, Admiral, 837, 838, 839, 853, 854-855, 911.
 Nepal, 1008, 1016.
 Nesselrode, Count (Russian minister), 877.
 Netherlands, kingdom of the, 868.
 —, the Spanish, 729, 747.
 —, the Austrian, 727, 765, 775, 778, 784, 796, 836.
 Neutrality the Armed (1780), 800.
 — (1801), 839.
 Neutrals' rights admitted, 917.
 Nevis, 1025.
 New Brunswick, 1025, 1026.
 — England, 786, 805.
 — Guinea, 1039.
 — Hampshire, 786.
 — Holland, 1027. *See also* Australia.
 — Jersey, 786, 805.
 — Lanark, 976.
 — Orleans, 787, 866.
 — Plymouth (New Zealand), 1037, 1038.
 — South Wales, 1026, 1027-1028, 1035-1036, 1037-1038.
 — York, 786, 805, 807.
 — Zealand, 1026, 1037, 1038, 1047.
 — Association, the, 1037.
 Newcastle, 777, 969, 974.
 —, bishopric of, 969.
 — under-Lyme, Thomas Pelham, 1st Duke of, 770, 773, 783, 795, 796, 797.
 —, the 4th Duke of, 881.
 —, the 5th Duke of, 912, 914, 918, 920.
 Newcomen, 815.
 Newfoundland, 747, 796, 808, 956, 1024, 1035.
 Newman, J. H. (Cardinal), 901, 967-968, 971, 988.
 Newport (Monmouthshire), 896.
 Newspapers, 730, 799, 990-991.
 Newton, John, 822, 825.
 Newtown-Butler, battle of, 727.
 Niagara, 787, 789, 791.
 Nice, 920.
 Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, 878, 892, 896, 913-916.
 Nicholson, 1016.
 Niebuhr, 989.
 Niger, the river, 956, 1027.
 Nightingale, Miss Florence, 916.
 Nijmegen, Treaty of, 728.
 Nile, the river, 956, 957, 1027.
 —, battle of the, 838.
 Nimeguen. *See* Nijmegen.
 Nithsdale, Earl of, 762, 763.
 Nizám, the (of the Deccan), 997, 1005, 1006, 1016.
Nizamat, the, 998.
 Nonconformists, 970. *See also* Dissenters.
 Non-intervention, principle of, 878.
 Nonjurors, schism of the, 723-724.
 Non-regulation System, the, 1013.
 Nore, the mutiny at, 837.
 Norfolk, husbandry in, 819.
 North, Lord, 799, 800, 802-810, 846, 872, 1002, 1024.
 — *Briton*, 797.
 — Carolina, 786, 807.
 — German Confederation, 926.
 — West Passage, the, 1027-1029.
 — Provinces, 1010, 1021.
 Northbrook, Lord, 1017-1018.
 Northcote, Sir Stafford, afterwards Lord Iddesleigh, 934, 935, 943.
Northern Star, the, 990.
 Norway, 868.
 Norwich, 815, 981, 983.
 Nott, General, 1011.
 Nottingham, 815, 979.
 —, Charles Howard, Earl of. *See* Howard of Effingham.
 —, Daniel Finch, Earl of, 722, 738, 739, 748.
 Nova Scotia, 747, 787, 796, 807, 1024, 1035.
 Novara, battle of, 909.
 Novels in 18th century, 831-832.
 — in 19th century, 989-990.
 O'BRIEN, Smith, 900, 910.
 O'Connell, Daniel, 883-884, 889, 894, 895, 900-901.
 O'Connor, Arthur, 848.
 —, Feargus, 895, 910.
 O'Donovan Rossa, 927-928.
 O'Leary, J., 927.
 Oakboys, 845.
 Oastler, Richard, 977.
 Obstruction in Parliament, 931-935, 940.

- Occasional Conformity Act, the, 738-739, 748, 764.
 Oglethorpe, General, 780, 786.
 Old Sarum, 782, 885.
 Omdurman, battle of, 956, 957.
 Ontario, Province of, 1035.
 Opera, English, 983.
 —, Italian, 829, 983.
 Opium War, the, 897.
 Orange, Princes of—
 William III. *See* William III. of England.
 William IV. *See* William IV. of Orange.
 —, Princesses of. *See* Mary, Queen of England.
 —, Lodges, 848.
 —, River Free State (now Orange River Colony), 1040, 1043, 1047, 1048.
 Orangemen, 882.
 Oratorios, 829.
 Orders in Council, the, 861, 865.
 Oregon Question, the, 899.
 Orford, Edward Russell, Earl of, 729, 731, 735, 739.
 —, Robert Walpole, Earl of, 772.
 See also Walpole, Sir Robert.
 Oriel College, Oxford, 966-967.
 Orient, the (ship), 838.
 Origin of Species, the, 985.
 Orissa, 997, 1004, 1007, 1017.
 Orleans, Philip, Duke of, 747, 748, 757.
 Ormonde, Duke of, 747, 748, 757.
 Orsini's Plot, 919.
 Osborne, Sir Thomas. *See* Carmarthen and Leeds.
 Ossian, 832.
 Ostend, 743.
 — East India Company, 771, 774.
 Oswego, 789.
 Otago, 1037.
 Oudenarde, battle of, 744.
 Oudh, 997, 998, 1000, 1005, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1021.
 Outlanders, the, 1044, 1045, 1046.
 Owen (anatomist), 985.
 —, Robert, 895, 976-977.
 Oxford, 757, 780, 808, 884, 912, 925, 966-968, 980, 984, 992-993.
 Oxford, Robert Harley, Earl of, 739, 746, 748, 749, 754, 765.
 PACIFIC OCEAN, islands in the, 1026-1027, 1038-1039.
 Pacifico, Don, 910.
 Paine, Tom, 804, 835, 836.
 Painting in 18th century, 829.
 — in 19th century, 981-982.
 Paisley, 816.
 Palgrave, Sir F., 989.
 Palladio, 828.
 Falliser, Admiral, 806.
 Palaeontology, 985.
 Palmer's mail-coaches, 816.
 Palmerston, Henry Temple, 3rd Viscount, 876, 880, 882, 883, 887, 891-892, 896-897, 899, 904, 905-923, 938, 952.
 Panama. *See* Darien.
 Pan-Anglican Synods, 969.
 Pánipat, battle of, 997, 1010.
 Panmure, Lord, 918.
 Pan-Slavism, 936.
 Pantaloons, 827.
 Papacy, the, 851, 867. *See also the various Popes under their names.*
 Papal aggression, the, 910, 937.
 — state, 867, 920, 932.
 Paper Tax, 923.
 Papineau, 1033.
 Papists. *See* Catholics, Roman.
 Paris, 909, 931-932, 948.
 —, Treaty of, (1763), 796.
 —, Peaces of (1814-1815), 865, 867.
 —, Treaty of (1856), 917, 932.
 Park, Mungo, 1027.
 Parker, Richard, 837.
 —, Sir Hyde, 839.
 Parliament, rise, growth, and power of, 723, 724, 735-736.
 — the Irish, 727, 843, 845, 846, 847-848, 850-851.
 — the Scottish, 724, 750-754.
 Parliamentary debates reported, 799.
 Parma, 771, 851, 920.
 Parnell (poet), 830.
 —, Charles Stewart, 935, 940, 944, 946, 947, 948.
 — Commission, the, 946.
 —, Sir Henry, 887.
 Parnellism and Crime (articles), 946.
 Parnellites, the, 947, 950, 953.
 Parry (musician), 983.
 Partition Treaties, the Spanish, 733-734.
 Passaro, Cape, battle off, 765.
 Paterson, William, 961.
 Paton, Sir Noel, 982.
 Patras, 878.
 Patriot King, On the Idea of a, Bolingbroke's, 770, 794.
 Patriotic Party, the (Scotland), 750.
 Patriots, the, 770.
 Patronage in the Scotch Church, 752, 822-823, 971-972.
 Patteson, Bishop, 1028.
 Paul I. of Russia, 839.
 Pauperism in 18th and 19th centuries, 821, 891, 895, 976.
 Pavilion, the Brighton, 828.
 Peace Preservation Act (Ireland), 930.
 Pearson (architect), 980.
 Pedro, Dom, Emperor of Brazil, 877, 892.
 Peel, Sir R. (the elder), 875, 975, 977.
 — (the younger), 875, 878-879, 880,

- 881-887, 888, 889, 893-894, 897-905, 911.
 Peel, Robert, of Blackburn, 815.
 Peelites, the, 905, 911, 912-5:8, 919, 920, 924.
 Peckage Bill (1719), 764.
 Pearsall (musician), 983.
 Pegu, 1013.
 Peiræus, 909.
 Pelham, Henry, 770, 773, 774, 779, 783.
 —, Thomas. *See* Newcastle, Duke of, 729.
 Penal Code, 847-848.
 —, the Irish, 728, 740-741.
 Penjdeh, 943.
 Penn, William, 786.
 Pennsylvania, 786, 805.
 Penny Magazine, the, 991.
 — Postage, 895.
 People, condition of the, 975-979.
 People's Charter, the, 895.
 Perceval, Spencer, 853, 857, 858.
 Percy, Bishop, 832.
 Permanent Settlement of Bengal, the, 1004.
 Persia, War with, 1015.
 Perth, James Drummond, Duke of, 776.
 Peshāwar, 1011.
 Peshwā, the (of Poona), 996, 1001, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1015.
 Peter I., the Great, Czar of Russia, 740.
 — III., of Russia, 796.
 Peterborough, the Earl of, 743.
 Peterhead, 762.
 Peterloo, 868.
 Petty, Lord Henry, 857. *See also* Lansdowne, Marquis of.
 Philadelphia, 804, 807.
 Philanthropy, 823, 824, 979.
 Philharmonic Society, the, 983.
 Philip v. of Spain, 734, 735, 745, 747, 764, 771.
 —, Duke of Anjou, 734. *See also* Philip v., King of Spain.
 —, Don, Duke of Parma, 778.
 Phillip, Captain, 1029.
 Phillips, Mayor of Newport, 896.
 Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, 966, 967.
 Phoenix Park, the, 940, 946.
 Physics, 985.
 Piedmont, 851.
 Pigott, Richard, 946.
 Pindaris, the, 1008.
 Pirna, battle of, 789.
 Pitt, Lady Hester, 796. *See also* Chatham, Lady.
 —, William (the elder), 770, 773, 774, 782-784, 786, 790, 797, 798, 803, 804. *See also* Chatham.
 —, William (the younger), 808-813, 822, 823, 825, 827-836, 839, 847, 848, 850-856, 886, 1003, 1024-1029.
 Pittsburg, 791.
 Pius IX., Pope, 908, 909, 910, 920.
 Planchenoit, 866.
 Plassey, battle of, 786, 798.
 Plevna, siege of, 936.
 Plunket, 850.
 Poetry (18th century), 830-832.
 — (19th century), 986-987.
 Poland, 771, 772, 796, 859, 868, 885, 892.
 —, first partition of, 796.
 Polar Voyages, 1027-1028.
 Polignac, 884-885.
 Polish Succession, war of the, 771.
 Political Economists, 811, 821, 880, 907, 978, 988-989.
 — Justice, Godwin's, 835.
 — Register, Cobbett's, 869.
 Polk, President, 899.
 Pollock, General, 1011.
 Poltava, battle of, 740.
 Pomare, Queen, 899.
 Pondicherry, 784, 786, 796, 1006.
 Ponsonby, 850, 870.
 — family, 844.
 Poona, 996. *See also* Peshwā.
 Poor Law, the new, 891, 976.
 —, the Irish, 895.
 Pope, Alexander, 830.
 Pope's Brass Band, the, 927.
 Popes. *See* Papacy. The different Popes are given under their names.
 Population in the 18th century, 818.
 — in the 19th century, 972.
 Port Elizabeth, 1040.
 — Jackson, 1029.
 — Philip, 1036.
 Porteous Riots, 769.
 Portland, William Bentinck, 1st Earl of, 723, 735.
 —, the 3rd Duke of, 809, 836, 857, 858.
 Porto Novo, battle of, 807, 1001.
 Portobello (S. America), 747, 771, 772.
 Portugal, kingdom of, 740, 784, 796, 813, 861, 862, 864, 877, 892, 913, 1043.
 Portuguese in America, 761.
 Post (the newspaper), 799.
 Post-Office, the, 816, 895.
 Potato crop, failure of the (Ireland), 904, 906-908.
 Power-loom, the, 815.
 Poyning's Law, 842.
 Pragmatic Sanction, the, 774, 778.
 Pratt, Chief-Justice, 797.
 Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the, 981.
 Presbyterianism in the 18th century in Scotland, 725. *See also* Scotland, Church of.
 — in England, 779.
 — in Ireland, 842, 848.
 Pressburg, Peace of, 856.
 Preston (town), 762, 763, 889.
 Preston's Plot, 730.

- Presroupans, battle of, 776.
 Pretender, the Young, 775-777.
 —, the Old, 736, 743, 748, 762.
 Pretoria, 1048.
 — Convention, the, 1042.
 Prevention of Crimes Act (1882), 940.
 — Act (1887), 945.
 Priestley, Dr. Joseph, 836, 985.
 Primitive Methodists, the, 970.
 Prince Edward's Island, 787, 1024, 1035.
 Prior, Matthew, 745, 830.
 Prisons, state of the, 824.
 Privateering abolished, 917.
 Privy Council, the, 735, 749, 960, 962.
Progressistas, 909.
 Prose in the 18th century, 830-832.
 — in the 19th century, 987-990.
 Protection, 898, 902, 903-905.
 — for Life and Property Act (Ireland), 940.
 Protectionists, the, 904, 905, 911. *See also* Conservatives.
 Protestant Ascendancy (Ireland), the, 728, 840 *sq.*
 Prussia, 740, 747, 771, 774, 775, 789, 790, 796, 798, 806, 813, 835, 836, 839, 851, 859, 865, 868, 879, 892, 896, 909, 913, 921, 926-927, 931-932.
 Pruth, the river, 914.
Public Advertiser, the, 799.
 Public-House Licensing, 779.
 — Schools Act (1868), the, 992.
 — Worship Regulation Act, 934, 968.
 Pugin, the brothers, 980.
 Pulteney, William, 755, 769, 770, 773.
See also Bath, Earl of.
 Punjab, the, 997, 1010, 1012, 1013, 1016, 1021.
 Purcell, 829.
 Purchase in the army, abolition of, 931.
 Puritans, the, 779, 832.
 Pusey, E. B., 967-968.
 Putney, 856.
 Pyrenees, battles of the, 865.

 QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE, the (1718), 765.
 — (1834), 892.
 — (1840), 896.
 Quakers, 825.
 Quarter Sessions, 950.
Quarterly Review, the, 990.
 Quaternions, 985.
 Quatre Bras, battle of, 866.
 Quebec, 891, 1027.
 — Act, the, 804, 1024.
 —, Province of, 1035.
 Queen's Colleges (Ireland), 901.
 — University (Ireland), 993.
Ware, 816.
 Queensberry, Duke of, 750.
 Queensland, 1036.
 Quiberon, 790, 837.

 RADCLIFFE LIBRARY, the, 828.
 Radicals, the, 836, 886, 889, 905-906, 912, 919, 924.
 —, the new, 939.
 Raeburn (painter), 981.
 Raglan, Lord, 914-916.
 Raikes, Robert, 822.
 Railways (Horse), 816-817.
 — (Steam), 887, 974-975.
 Railway Commission, the, 975.
 — Mania, the, 975.
 Rainham, 819.
 Rájputána, 997, 1008.
Rambler, the, 831.
 Ramillies, battle of, 743.
 Ramsay, Allan, 832.
 Rand, the, 1043.
 Rangoon, 1013.
 Ránlgan, 1021.
 Ranjit Singh, 1012.
 Rastadt, Conference at, 838.
 —, Peace of, 747.
 Rawlinson, Sir Henry, 1018.
Ráyatwari settlement of Madras, 1004.
 Reaction, Catholic, the. *See* Counter-Reformation.
 Reade, Charles, 990.
 Reay, Lord, 759.
 Rebecca Riots, 901.
 Rebellion of 1798, the Irish, 849-850.
 Reciprocity, doctrine of, 879-880.
 Red Sea, the, 1038.
 Redan, the, 917.
Redoutable, Le (ship), 855.
Reflections on the French Revolution, Burke's, 835.
 Reform, Parliamentary, 799, 800, 811, 818.
 — Agitation, 885-889.
 — Bill (1832), 888-889.
 — (1866), 925.
 — (1867-68), 926.
 — (1885), 943.
 — Bills, 912, 919, 922.
 — (Ireland), 847, 848, 849.
 Regency, the, 858, 864, 869.
 — Question, the, 813.
Regium Donum, the, 842, 929.
 Regulating Act, Lord North's, 1002.
Reign of Terror, the, 834-835, 837.
 Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act, 940.
 — Presbytery, the, 822.
 Religion, history of, in 18th century, 779, 782, 821-823; in 19th century, 965-968. *See also* Church; Scotland, Church of; Dissenters; Methodists; Catholics, Roman.
Religious Tract Society, the, 822.
Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, 832.
 Repeat Agitation, O'Connell's, 884, 900.
 Resumption Act, the, 735.

- Revenue the Hereditary (William III.), 723.
Review, Defoe's, 831.
 Revolution of 1688, results of the, 721-724.
 — in Scotland, 724-726.
 — in Ireland, 726-728.
 — *Society*, the, 835.
 —, the French, 833-840.
 Revolutions in 1848, 908.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 829.
 Rhine, Confederation of the, 856.
 Rhode Island, 786.
 Rhodes, Cecil, 1044, 1045.
 Rhodesia, 1044.
 Ricardo, David, 880.
 Richardson, Samuel, 831.
 Richelieu, Duke of, 789.
 Riel, Louis, 1036.
 Rifles, 964.
 Right, Claim of, 724.
 — of search, 772.
 Rights, Bill of, 724.
 — Declaration of, 724.
 — of *Man*, Paine's, 835.
 Riot Act, the, 757.
 Ripon, Bishopric of, 969.
 —, Frederick Robinson, 1st Earl of, 893, 898, 928.
 —, George Robinson, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis of, 1019.
 Ripperda, 771.
 Ritualists, 968.
 Rivals, the, 830.
 Roads, 816.
 Roberts, General Sir F., afterwards Lord, 964, 1018, 1019, 1047-1048.
 Robertson, F., 969.
 —, Principal, 823, 831.
 Robespierre, 837.
 Robinson, Frederick, 776-777. *See also* Goderich and Ripon.
 — *Crusoe*, 831.
 —, Sir Thomas, 783.
 Rob Roy, 758.
 Robson (actor), 984.
 Rochefort, 789.
 Rochester, Lawrence Hyde, Earl of, 735, 738, 739, 740.
 Rocket, the (locomotive), 974.
 Rockingham, the Marquis of, 797, 798, 803, 808, 846.
 Rodney, Admiral, 801.
 Roebuck, Dr. John, 815.
 Roebuck's motion (1855), 917.
 Rohilkand, 1005.
 Rohillas, the, 1000.
 Romagna, 920.
 Romaine, William, 822.
 Roman Empire. *See* Empire, the.
 — Catholics. *See* Catholics, Roman.
 Romantic movement, 832.
 Romilly, 878-879.
 Ronalds, Francis, 975.
 Rooke, Admiral, 743.
 Rorke's Drift, 1040.
 Rosebery, Earl of, 951, 954.
 — Ministry, the, 952-954.
 Rose, Sir Hugh, 1016.
 —, Hugh James, 967.
 Rosetta, 859.
 Ross (Antarctic explorer), 1028.
 Rossbach, battle of, 790.
 Rossetti, Christina, 987.
 —, Dante Gabriel, 981, 982, 987.
 Rothbury, 762.
 Rotten boroughs, 756.
 Roubillac, 829.
 Roumania, 913, 936, 937.
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 823, 827, 832, 833, 834, 848, 1030.
 Rowing, 984.
 Rowlands, Daniel, of Llangeitho, 782.
 Rowlandson, 829.
 Royal Academy, 829.
 — of Music, 983.
 — African Company, 684.
 — College of Music, 983.
 — *Sovereign*, the (ship), 855.
 — University (Ireland), 993.
 Rugby School, 967, 987, 992.
 Rule Britannia, 770.
 Runcorn, 817.
 Russell, William, Lord, 730.
 —, Dr. Richard, 826.
 —, Admiral Edward, 729. *See also* Orford.
 — Lord John, afterwards Earl, 882, 886, 887, 888, 924, 925, 926, 927, 971.
 — Ministry, the, 925.
 Russia, 740, 765, 778, 789, 796, 798, 806, 813, 851, 854, 855, 859, 865, 868-878, 884, 892, 896, 917, 932, 936-937, 942-943, 948, 949, 955, 958, 1020.
 — in Central Asia, 1018.
 Russo-Turkish War, the (1877-78), 936-937.
 Ryswick, Peace of, 729-730.
 SACHEVERELL, Dr., 745-746.
 Sacred Harmonic Society, the, 983.
 Sadleir (Irish politician), 927.
 Sadler, Michael, 977.
 Sadowa, battle of, 926.
 St. Albans, 969.
 — Arnaud, Marshal, 914.
 — Bernard, Mount, 839.
 — George, Chevalier of. *See* Pretender, the Old.
 — George's Fields, 798.
 — Helena, 867, 1026.
 — Jean, 787. *See also* Prince Edward's Island.
 —, Mont, 866.
 — John, Henry, 739. *See also* Bolingbroke.

- St. John, Knights of, 838, 840.
 — Kitt's, 1025.
 — Lucia, 867, 1025.
 — Martin's-in-the-Fields, 826.
 — Mary's, Woolnoth, 828.
 — Paul's Cathedral, 815.
 — Pierre, 896, 909.
 — Ruth, General, 728.
 — Vincent, battle of, 837.
 — —, Lord, 838.
 — — (island), 1025.
 Salar Jang, Sir, 1016.
 Sale, General, 1011.
 Salem, 803.
 Salford, 926, 943.
 Salisbury, 728.
 —, Robert Cecil, 3rd Marquis of, 926, 934, 937, 943-944, 945-47.
 — Ministry, the, 943-950, 953.
 — Unionist Ministry, 944.
 — —, the third, 954-958.
 Salsette, 1001.
 Salvation Army, the, 970.
 San Stefano, Treaty of, 937.
 Sanicroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, 724.
 Sandwich Islands, the, 1027.
 Sanskrit, 906.
 Saragossa (Zaragoza), 862.
 Saratoga, capitulation of, 805.
 Sarawak, 1039.
 Sardinia, 747, 765, 774, 778.
 Sarsfield, 728.
 Satara, the Rajahs of, 996, 1013.
 Sati (Suttee), 1009.
Savannah, the (steamer), 973.
 Savoy, 920.
 —, the Duke of, 740, 747.
 Saxe, Marshal, 775.
 Saxony, 774, 859, 865, 867.
 Scenery, love of, 832.
 Scharnhorst, General, 865.
 Schellenberg, the, 741.
 Schill (German patriot), 863.
 Schism Act, the, 748, 764.
 Schleswig-Holstein, 908-909, 921, 926.
 Schley, the river, 921.
 Schomberg, General, 795-798.
School for Scandal, the, 830.
 Science, Natural, 713, 984-986.
 Scotland, 724-726, 733, 743, 750-754, 758, 822-823, 825, 829, 958, 991-993.
 —, Church of, 725, 752, 778, 822-823, 901-972.
Scotsman, the, 990.
 Scott, David, 982.
 —, Sir Gilbert, 980.
 —, Thomas, 822.
 —, Sir Walter, 774, 779, 987, 988, 990.
 —, William Bell, 981.
 Sculpture in 18th century, 829.
 — in 19th century, 982.
 Scutari, 916.
 Seaforth, Lord, 759.
 Seaside Resorts, 826-827.
Seasons, the, 832.
 Sebastopol, 914-917.
 Secretaries of State, 961, 963.
 Security, Act of, 750, 752.
 Sedan, battle of, 931.
 Sedgwick (geologist), 985.
 Selborne, Lord, 931, 939.
 Senegal, 796, 809.
 Sepoys, 785, 937, 1015-1017.
 Septennial Act, 763.
 Seringapatam, 838, 1005, 1006.
Serious Call, Law's, 780.
 Sermons, 779.
 Servia, 936, 937.
 Session, Court of, 725, 752.
 Settlement, Act of (Ireland), 726, 727.
 — — (1701), 735-736.
 — — (Poor Laws, 1662), 891, 895.
 Seven Years' War, the, 784, 789-791, 796.
 — United Provinces, the. *See* United Provinces, the.
 Severn, the, 817.
 Seville, Treaty of, 771.
 Shaftesbury, Earl of, 902, 977.
 Sháh Alám, 998, 1000, 1005, 1007.
 — Jahán, 996.
 — Shujá, 1010, 1011.
 Shakespearian Revival, Garrick's, 832.
Shannon, the (ship), 865.
 Sharp, Granville, 825, 1026.
 Shaw, Norman, 980.
She Stoops to Conquer, Goldsmith's, 830.
 Shea, Sir Martin, 981.
 Sheffield, 815, 835, 978.
 Sheil (Irish politician), 883.
 Shelburne, Lord, 808-809.
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 986.
 Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 830, 857, 1003.
 Sheriffmuir, battle of, 762.
 Shír Alí, 1018.
 Shore, Sir John, 1005.
 Shorthorns, 819.
 Shrewsbury, the 1st Duke of, 723, 749.
 Siam, 956-957, 1020.
 Sicily, 765.
 Siddons, Mrs., 984.
 Sidmouth, Lord, 853, 856, 857, 868, 875. *See also* Addington.
 Sierra Leone, 825, 1026.
 Sikh War, the first, 1012.
 — the second, 1013.
 Sikhs, the, 997, 1010, 1012-1013.
 Silesia, 758, 774, 775, 789, 796, 774-775.
 Silesian Wars, 774-775.
 Silk Trade, the, 816.
 Simeon, Charles, 966.
 Simla, 1008.
 Sind, 1011-1012.

- Sindhia (of Gwalior), 997, 1001, 1006-1007, 1012, 1016.
 Singapore, 1038.
 Sinking Fund (Walpole's), 769.
 — (Pitt's), 811, 879.
 Sinope, 913.
 Siráj-ud-Daulá, 785-786.
 Sirdar, the, 956-957.
 Siva, 995.
 Six Acts, the, 869.
 Slate, Macdonald of, 759.
 Slave Trade, the, 747, 814, 824-825, 857.
 Slavery, 890, 1025-1026, 1040.
 Slidell (Confederate Envoy), 922.
 Sliding Scale for corn duties, the new (1842), 902.
 — scales of wages, 979.
 Smith, Adam, 811, 814, 821.
 —, Sir Harry, 1012.
 —, Sir Sidney (captain), 838.
 —, William (geologist), 985.
 —, William Henry, 945, 949.
 Smollett, Tobias, 831.
 Smyrna Fleet, destruction of the, 729.
 Sobráon, battle of, 1012.
 Socialism, 895, 978.
 Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the, 825.
 — for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 991.
 — of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, 799.
 Soho Works, 815.
 Solferino, battle of, 920.
 Somers, John, Lord, 731, 735, 739.
 Somerset, the Duke of, 749.
 Sophia, Electress of Hanover, 735, 747.
 — Dorothea, of Celle, wife of George I., 729, 767.
 Soudan, the. See Sudan.
 Soult, Marshal, 863-865.
 South African Colonies, 938, 941, 1038, 1039-1041.
 — Company, the British, 1044, 1045.
 — Republic, 1040, 1041-1049.
 See also Transvaal.
 — Australia, 1036-1037.
 — Carolina, 786, 807.
 — Sea Bubble, 765-767.
 — Company, 765.
 Southey, Robert, 986.
 Southwark, 798.
 Southwell, 969.
 Spa Fields, 868.
 Spain, 729, 732, 733, 734, 745, 747, 764, 765, 771, 772, 774, 775, 778, 784, 795, 796, 797, 806-809, 853, 854-855, 861-865, 876-877, 892, 899, 909.
 Spanish marriages, the, 899.
 — Succession, War of the, 740-745, 746-747.
 Spectator, the, 831.
 Speke (African traveller), 1027.
 Spencean Philanthropists, the, 868.
 Spencer, Earl, 857, 928.
 —, Herbert, 989.
 —, Robert. See Sunderland.
 Spice Islands, the, 1030.
 Spinning-jenny, the, 815.
 Spirit-drinking, 779.
 Spitalfields, 707, 816.
 — Act, the, 880.
 Spithead, mutiny at, 837.
 Spohr, 983.
 Spring-Rice, Thomas, 906.
Squadron Volante, the, 751.
 Squatters, Australian, 1036, 1038.
 —, West Indian, 1030.
 Stadion, Count, 763.
 Staffordshire, North, 816.
 Stahremberg, General, 745.
 Stair, James Dalrymple, Viscount, 725.
 —, John Dalrymple, Master of, 725.
 Stamp Act, the, 797, 798, 802.
 Stanford (musician), 983.
 Stanhope, General Lord, 744, 755, 763, 764, 767.
 Stanislas, King of Poland, 772.
 Stanley, Lord, 887, 890, 893, 894, 898, 904, 905, 911. See also Derby, the 14th Earl of.
 —, Lord (afterwards 15th Earl Derby, 1842), 927, 1038.
 —, H. M. (traveller), 1027.
 State intervention, growth of, 939, 960.
 Steamboats, 964-965, 973-974.
 Steam-engine, the, 815.
 Steam navigation in India, 1009.
 Steele, Richard, 745, 830.
 Stein, Baron, 865.
 Steinkirk, battle of, 729.
 Stephens (preacher), 896.
 —, James, 927.
 Stephenson, George, 974.
 —, Robert, 974.
 Sterne, Lawrence, 831, 844.
 Stevens, Alfred, 982.
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, 990.
 Stewart Clan (of Atholl), 759.
 — (of Appin), 725, 759, 762.
 —, General, 859, 942.
 Stirling, 777.
 Stocking-frame, the, 815.
 Stockton and Darlington Railway, 974.
 Stolberg, Louisa of, 777.
 Stollhofen, the lines of, 743.
 Stone, Primate, 844.
 Stothard, 982.
 Strassburg, 729.
 Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, 913.
 Strathbogie, Presbytery of, 971.
 Strikes, 978-979.
 Strutt, 815.
 Stuart (Australian traveller), 1027.

- Sturt (Australian traveller), 1027.
 Suakim, 942.
 Sudan, the, 938, 941-943, 986, 1047.
 Sudder Courts, 1014, 1017.
 Suez Canal, the, 938.
 Sullivan, Sir Arthur, 983.
 Sunday Schools, 822.
 Sunderland, Robert Spencer, Earl of, 730.
 — Charles Spencer, Earl of, 739, 755, 763, 764, 767.
 Suspending power, the, 724.
 Sussex, 815.
 Sutherland, the Earl of, 759.
 Suttee, 1009.
 Swan River, 1036.
 Sweden, 740, 765, 789, 839, 857, 862, 868.
 Swift, Jonathan, 745, 748, 831, quoted 842-843, 845.
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 987.
 Switzerland, 839.
 Swords, 827.
 Sydney, Lord, 1029, 1038.
 Symington, William, 973.
 Symons, General, 1046.
 Syria, 838, 892, 896.
 'TACKING' Bills, 735.
 Tahiti, 899.
 Taipings, the, 941.
 Talavera, battle of, 863-864.
 Talbot, Richard. *See* Tyrconnel, Earl of.
Talents, Ministry of all the, 856, 857.
 Tallard, Marshal, 741, 742.
 Talukdars of Oudh, the, 1014, 1015.
 Tamil, 995.
Tamworth Manifesto, the, 894.
 Tandy, James Napper, 848.
 Tanjore, 1006.
 Tania Topi, 1016.
 Tara, 900.
 Tariff, the (1842), 902.
 Tasmania, 1036.
Tatter, the, 830.
 Tchernaya. *See* Chernaya.
 Tel-el-Kebir, battle of, 941.
 Telegraphs, 975.
 Telephones, 975.
 Telford, 817.
 Telugu, 995.
 Temple, Richard, 1st Lord, 782, 796, 797.
 — George, 2nd Lord, 810.
 Ten Hours Bill, the, 977.
 — Years' Conflict, the, 971.
 Tenasserim, 1009.
 Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 987.
Terror, the (ship), 1028.
 Test Act, Repeal of the, 882.
 Tewfik, Khedive of Egypt, 938.
 Thackeray, William Makepeace, 989.
 Thebau, King, 1019.
 Thelwall, 836.
 Theodore, King of Abyssinia, 927.
 Thessaly, 955.
 Thiers, A., 896, 899.
 Thirlwall, Bishop, 989.
 Thistlewood, Arthur, 868, 873.
 Thomson, James, the poet, 770, 832.
 —, Sir William, 985.
Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents, 799.
 Thuggee (Thagi), 1009.
 Thurlow, Lord Chancellor, 808, quoted 810.
 Ticonderoga, 791.
 Tientsin, Treaty of, 919.
 Tierney, 875, 881.
 Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 724.
 Tilsit, Treaty of, 859.
Times, the, 946, 990.
 Timur, 996.
 Tindal, the Deist, 779.
 Tipu Sultan, 838, 1001-1002, 1005-1006.
 Tithe Commutation Act, 890, 895.
 — War, the (Ireland), 889-890.
 Tobago, 809, 867, 1025, 1029.
 Todleben, General, 915, 936.
 Tolbooth, the, in Edinburgh, 769.
 Toleration, 723, 783, 970.
 — Act, the, 723.
 Tollemache, 729.
 Tone, Theobald Wolfe, 848, 849.
 Toplady, 822.
 Torbay, 728.
 Torgau, battle of, 790.
 Tories, the, 735, 738, 739, 746, 754, 770, 794, 795, 809-811, 836, 881, 882, 887, 889, 893.
 Torres Vedres, the lines of, 864.
 Torrington, Admiral, 729.
 Toulon, 743, 838.
 Toulouse, battle of, 765.
 Tower Hamlets, 888.
 Townley, Colonel, 777.
 Townshend, Charles, 2nd Viscount, 755, 763, 767, 770, 819.
 —, George, 4th Viscount and 1st Marquis, 845.
 —, Charles, 798, 803.
 Tractarian Movement, the, 966-968.
Tract Ninety, 967.
Tracts for the Times, 967.
 Trade in 18th century, 731-732, 784, 802, 813-821.
 — in 19th century, 972-973.
 Trades Unions, 978-979.
 Trafalgar, battle of, 854-856.
 Tramways (horse), 816-817.
 Transportation, 824.
 Transvaal, the, 938, 941, 1040-1049.
 Travel in 18th century, 826.
 Travellers (19th century), 1026-1028.

- Trent*, the (ship), 922.
 Trevecca, 782.
 Trevithick, Richard, 974.
 Trevor, Sir John, 731.
 Trichinopoly, 785, 997.
 Triennial Act, the (1694), 730, 763.
 Trinidad, 840, 1029, 1030.
 Triple Alliance, the (1717), 763, 764, 765.
 ———, the (1879), 932, 948, 949.
 Trollope, Anthony, 990.
 Troppau, Congress at, 876.
 Truro, 969.
 Tugela river, the, 1048.
 Tullibardine, Marquis of, 776.
 Tunbridge Wells, 826.
 Turin, battle of, 743.
 Turks, the, 740, 798, 813, 838, 840, 859, 877-878, 884, 913-917, 955.
Turk's Head in Soho, the, 831.
 Turner, J. M. W., 981.
 Turnip, cultivation of the, 889.
 Turnpike roads, 816.
 Tuscany, 771, 867, 920.
 Tweeddale, Marquis of, 751.
 Twenty-four Parganas, the, 998.
 Tyburn, 824, 827.
 Tyne, the, 816.
 Tyrconnel, Earl of, 726.
 ULSTER Custom, the, 930.
 Umbrellas, 827.
 Undertakers (Ireland), 844, 845.
 Union of England and Scotland, 750-754.
 ———, the, with Ireland, 850, 851, 872.
 ———, Jack, the, 752.
United Ireland (newspaper), 910.
 ——— Irishmen, the, Society of, 828, 849.
 ——— Presbyterian Church, the, 972.
 ——— Provinces, the Seven, 740, 747.
See also Holland, Dutch, and Netherlands.
 ——— States, the, 804, 808, 879, 899, 921, 922, 956.
 ———, War with, 1033.
 ———, Commercial Treaty of Canada with, 1034.
 Unionists, 944.
 Unitarians, 729, 823.
 ——— Universities, the Scotch, 752, 926, 993.
 ——— in the 19th century, 992-993.
 University Bill (Ireland, 1874), 933.
 ——— Reform Act (1854), 912.
 Unkiar-Skelesi, Treaty of, 892, 896.
 Upper Canada, 1024, 1038.
 Ushant, battle off, 806.
 Utilitarians, 988.
 Utrecht, Treaty of, 746-747, 814.
 VALLEY Forge, 805.
 Valmy, battle of, 835.
 Vanbrugh, 828.
 Vancouver's Island, 899, 1035.
 Van Diemen's Land, 1036.
 Varna, 914.
 Vaudreuil, 791.
 Vedas, the, 995.
 Vellore, mutiny at, 1007-1009.
Vendite, La, 836, 837.
 Vendôme, Marshal, 743, 744.
 Venezuela, 955.
 Venice, 920, 927.
 Venn, Henry, 822.
 Vernon, Admiral, 772.
 Verona, Congress at, 877.
 Versailles, 834, 932.
 ———, Treaty of, 808-809.
 Veto Act, the, 971.
Vicar of Wakefield, the, 831.
 Viceroy of India, the, 1017.
 Victor, Marshal, 863.
 ——— Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, afterwards King of Sicily and King of Sardinia, 740, 747, 765.
 ——— Emanuel, King of Sardinia, and afterwards of Italy, 916, 920, 927, 932.
 Victoria, Queen, 869, 894-944.
 ———, Duchess of Kent, 869.
 ——— (Australia), 1036, 1038.
 ——— University, the, 993.
Victory, the (ship), 855.
 Vienna, Congress of, 865, 866-867.
 ——— Note (1853), 913.
 ———, the first Treaty of (1725), 771.
 ———, the second Treaty of (1731), 771.
 ———, the Definitive Treaty of (1738) 771.
 ———, Treaty of (1864), 921.
 Villars, Marshal, 743, 744.
 Villeneuve, Admiral, 845-855.
 Villeroi, Marshal, 743.
 Villiers, Barbara. *See* Cleveland, Duchess of.
 ———, Charles, 911.
 Vimiero, battle of, 862.
Vindicia Gallica, Mackintosh's, 855.
 Vinegar Hill, battle of, 849.
 Virgin Islands, the, 1025.
 Virginia, 786, 787, 807.
 Vishnu, 995.
 Vittoria, battle of, 865.
 Voltaire, 823, 833.
 'Voluntary principle', the, 970, 972.
 Voluntary Schools, 958.
 Volunteers, 853, 854, 920, 931, 962.
 ———, Irish, 806, 846-848.
 WADE, General, 777.
 Wagner, Richard, 983.
 Wagram, battle of, 864.
 Wakefield, 969.
 ———, Edward Gibbon, 1032, 1036, 1037.
 Walcheren, Expedition to, 863.
 Wales, 781-782, 815, 820, 896, 901, 943, 953, 983, 992, 993.

- Walker, Frederick, 982.
 —, Bishop of Derry, 727.
 Wallace, Alfred, 986, 1028.
 — (musician), 983.
 Wallachia, 884, 913.
 Walpole, Horace, quoted, 783, 790, 794, 990.
 —, Sir Robert, 739, 755, 763, 767-772, 782-783, 819, 845.
 Wandewash, battle of, 786, 998.
 Ward, W. G., 968.
 Warsaw, Grand Duchy of, 865, 868.
 Washington (city), 866.
 —, Treaty of (1871), 932.
 —, George, 787, 804, 805 (quoted), 807 (quoted).
 Water-frame, the, 814.
 Waterford Election, 883.
 Watering-places, 826.
 Waterloo, battle of, 866, 867.
 Watt, James, 815, 816.
Waverers, the, 888.
 Wavre, 866.
 Weald, the, 815.
Wealth of Nations, Smith's, 811.
 Wedderburn, 803.
 Wedgwoods, the, 816, 829.
 Wellesley, the Marquis, 876, 882, 1005-1007.
 —, Arthur, 1005, 1006-1007. *See also* Wellington.
 Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of, 862-868, 880, 881-887, 888, 894, 897, 898, 911, 963, 1014.
 Wells, Charles, 987.
 Wesley, John, 780-781, 782, 786, 821-825.
 —, Charles, 780.
 —, Samuel, 780.
 Wesleyans, 970.
 Wesleys, the (musicians), 983.
 West Indies, 796, 806, 807, 809, 1024-1026, 1030-1031.
 Westbury, Lord Chancellor, 920, 922.
 Western Australia, 1036.
 Westminster, 889.
 — Confession, the, 725.
 Westmoreland, 820.
 Westphalia, kingdom of, 856, 859, 863.
 Weymouth, 826.
 Wharton, Thomas, Lord, 731.
 Whately, 967.
 Wheatstone, 975.
 Whigs, 721, 730, 731, 736, 738, 739, 745, 755, 757, 763, 772, 774, 783, 800, 827, 835, 836, 881, 886-887, 889, 893, 898, 903.
 White, Sir George, 1046, 1048.
 Whiteboys, 845.
 Whitefield, George, 780, 782, 825.
 Whitehall, 725.
 Whitelocke, General, 859.
 Widdrington, Lord, 757, 763.
 Wigs, 827.
 Wilberforce, Samuel, Bishop of Winchester, 969.
 —, William, 811, 822, 825, 858, 873, 874, 969.
 Wilkes (American officer), 922.
 — John, 754, 797, 798, 827.
 Wilkie, Sir David, 981.
 William III., 722-737.
 — IV., 885-894. *See also* Clarence, William, Duke of.
 — III., Prince of Orange *See* William III. of England.
 — IV., Prince of Orange, 778.
 — I., King of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor, 921, 926, 932, 948.
 — II., King of Prussia and German Emperor, 948, 956.
 Williams, General, 917.
 — the Chartist, 896.
 —, John (missionary), 1028.
 —, Dr. Rowland, 969.
 Willis, Dr., 813, 839.
 Wills, General, 762.
 — (Australian traveller), 1027.
 Wilmington, Spencer Compton, Lord, 773.
 Wilson, Sir C. 942.
 —, Professor John, 990.
 —, Richard, 829.
 Windsor, 828.
 Windward Islands, the, 1025.
 Wintoun, Lord, 762, 763.
 Withers, General, 744.
 Wolfe, James, 790-791.
 Wollstonecraft, Mary, 835.
 Wolseley, Sir Garnet, afterwards Lord, 933, 941, 944, 1035-1041.
 Wood's Halfpence, 845.
 Woollen trade, 813, 815.
 — (Ireland), 842-843.
 Wordsworth, William, 833, 835, 986.
 Workhouse Test, the, 821.
 Workmen, condition of, 818, 975-976.
 Worms, Treaty of, 774.
 Worsley, 817.
 Würtemberg, 856, 867.
 Wyatt, James, 828.
 Wyndham, Sir William, 748, 757.
 —, 839, 857.
 Wynn, Charles, 875, 880.
 —, Sir Watkin, 875.
 YAKUB KHAN, 1018, 1019.
 Yandabu, the Treaty of, 1009.
 Yeomanry, decline of the, 820, 821.
 —, the Irish, 849.
 Yonge, Sir William, 790.
 York, Frederick, Duke of, 839, 869, 880.
 —, Henry, Cardinal of, 777.

